# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-054
Wednesday
22 March 1989

# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-89-054* *22 March 1989*

CONTENTS

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.


**ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT**

* Officials Answer Questions on Arms, Naval Cuts *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 11]* ..... 1
Latest SDI Variant Called 'Utterly Senseless' *[Bogachev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Mar]* ..... 1
Testing of New U.S. Cruise Missiles Criticized *[Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT 20 Mar]* ..... 2
U.S Force Reductions in Asia, Pacific Urged *[Shakov on Moscow International]* ..... 3
Official Explains Need for Military Exercises *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 3

**WORLDWIDE ISSUES**

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 21 Mar ..... 5
Updates Afghanistan Situation *[TASS]* ..... 5
Comments on El Salvador Elections *[TASS]* ..... 5
Notes Ties With Africa *[TASS]* ..... 5
Describes Relations With Hungary *[Moscow International]* ..... 6
Notes Hungary's Grosz Visit *[TASS]* ..... 6
Return of EEC Envoys to Tehran Welcomed *[TASS]* ..... 6
'Roundtable' on Arms Controls, Afghanistan, Rushdie *[Chukseyev, Solva, Pasko on Moscow Radio]* .... 7
Ligachev Receives Cooperatives Alliance President *[TASS]* ..... 11
Consular Relations Agreement Handed Over to UN *[TASS]* ..... 11
UN Subcommittee Meets on Peaceful Use of Space *[TASS]* ..... 11
U.S. 'Unilaterally' Altering Status of Micronesia *[TASS]* ..... 12

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**United States & Canada**

Ex-Attache to U.S. Says Expulsion 'Provocation' *[TASS]* ..... 13
Cheney's Record on U.S. Defense Issues Outlined *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Mar]* ..... 13
Pentagon, Commerce at Odds Over FSX Warplane *[Moscow International]* ..... 13
U.S. Fails To Push Change During Arens Visit *[Geyvandov in IZVESTIYA 17 Mar]* ..... 14
U.S.' Afghan Diplomatic 'Maneuvers' Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Mar]* ..... 15
Soviet, U.S. Stands on Indian Ocean Differ *[TASS]* ..... 16
Zaykov Addresses Visiting U.S. Schoolchildren *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Mar]* ..... 16
U.S. Psychiatrists Complete USSR Tour *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 17
Magadan Oblast Seeks Ties With Alaska *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Mar]* ..... 17

**China**

Reportage on PRC National People's Congress ..... 18
U.S. Senate Resolution Decried *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Mar]* ..... 18
Finance Minister Reports on Budget *[TASS]* ..... 18
PRC-Thai Talks, Proposals on Cambodia Viewed *[Fedorov on Moscow International]* ..... 18
PRC May Cut Philippine Ties Over Taiwan Issue *[Alekseyev on Moscow International]* ..... 19

**Northeast Asia**

USSR-Japan Foreign Ministry Talks Reported ..... 19
Characterized as 'Businesslike' *[Moscow International]* ..... 19
Japan Focuses on N. Territories *[TASS]* ..... 20
Japan Foreign Minister Views Talks *[TASS]* ..... 20

U.S. Plans To Transfer Forces to Japan Decried *[PRAVDA 17 Mar]* ..... 21

**Southeast Asia & Pacific**

Hope Seen for Cambodian Settlement *[Shakhov on Moscow International]* ..... 21
Changes in Thai Indochina Policy Praised *[Moscow International]* ..... 21
Vietnam Official on Renewal Processes *[PRAVDA 15 Mar]* ..... 22
Philippine Party Demands End to U.S. Bases *[TASS]* ..... 23
Commentator Views Philippine Debt Situation *[Leshkov on Moscow International]* ..... 23
UN Decision on Burma, Western Reaction Viewed *[Mikhaylov on Moscow International]* ..... 24
ASEAN Countries Normalizing Ties With PRC *[PRAVDA 17 Mar]* ..... 24
Increased Flights to Singapore To Further Ties *[Moscow TV]* ..... 25

**Near East & South Asia**

Afghan Rebels Reportedly Execute 3 Saudi Advisers *[TASS]* ..... 25
U.S., Pakistan Reminded of Geneva Agreements *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* ..... 25
U.S., Pakistan Blamed for Afghan Situation *[Solton on Moscow International]* ..... 27
Gen Gromov Views Developments in Afghanistan *[TASS]* ..... 27
U.S. Stinger Missiles in 'Fanatics" Hands *[Matveyev in IZVESTIYA 20 Mar]* ..... 28
Reader Questions Wisdom of Aid to Afghanistan *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 29
Pakistan's Bhutto Wants Good USSR Relations *[TASS]* ..... 30
Gorbachev Sends Greetings to India CP's Rao *[TASS]* ..... 30
* Indian Questions Release of 'Satanic Verses' *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 15 Mar]* ..... 30
Egyptian, Israeli Media Cited on Tabah Return *[IZVESTIYA 21 Mar]* ..... 31
* Palestinian Author Discusses Book for Jews *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 15 Mar]* ..... 32

**Sub-Saharan Africa**

Joint Commission Meets, Received by Castro *[TASS]* ..... 33
Progress Toward Namibia Settlement Assessed *[PRAVDA 21 Mar]* ..... 34
Soviet Committee, ANC Adopt Joint Communique *[Moscow TV]* ..... 34

**East Europe**

Soviet Scholars in SFRY 'Defamed' USSR *[PRAVDA 18 Mar]* ..... 35
Jaruzelski Says PZPR Passes 'Historic Test' *[PRAVDA 20 Mar]* ..... 36
New Polish Hard Currency Law 'Useful' *[IZVESTIYA 18 Mar]* ..... 37
MSZMP Freedom of Platforms Bill Described *[PRAVDA 22 Mar]* ..... 38
Hungarian Newsman on History, Current Reforms *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Mar]* ..... 38
* Success of CSSR Collectivized Farming Viewed *[PRAVDA 14 Mar]* ..... 39

**West Europe**

Yakovlev Speaks in Rome on United Europe *[PRAVDA 21 Mar]* ..... 42
Ochetto Speech Closes PCI Congress *[TASS]* ..... 45
Official Previews Gorbachev Visit to UK *[TASS]* ..... 46
USSR-UK Consular Consultations Held 17 Mar *[IZVESTIYA 19 Mar]* ..... 46
Glasnost Creates 'Strain' at BBC *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 Mar]* ..... 47

**NATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**Political & Social**

Chemical Accident in Lithuania; Residents Evacuated ..... 48
Situation 'Fully Under Control' *[TASS]* ..... 48
'No Panic' After Ammonia Escape *[Vilnius International]* ..... 48
Lithuania Faces 'Chemical Chernobyl' *[Vilnius International]* ..... 48
30,000 Evacuated From Danger Zone *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 49
Moscow Deputy Candidates Yeltsin, Brakov Campaign ..... 50
Yeltsin Hailed at Opponent's Factory *[AFP]* ..... 50

Candidates Set Out Platforms *[Belgrade TANJUG]* ..... 50
Statement Published Discrediting Yeltsin *[Moscow International]* ..... 51
Editor 'Sure' of Yeltsin Victory *[London TV]* ..... 51
Soviets in Nigeria Unhappy With Election Guidance *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 52
Academy of Sciences Elects People's Deputies *[TASS]* ..... 52
Continuing Support for Possible Sakharov Candidacy ..... 52
'Surprised' Sakharov Not Nominated *[TASS]* ..... 52
Scientists Propose New Candidacy *[AFP]* ..... 53
Sakharov Discusses Academy Elections *[Jerusalem Radio]* ..... 54
More on Election Campaigns for People's Deputies ..... 54
Zaykov Speaks to Moscow Party 10 Mar *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Mar]* ..... 54
Tours Moscow Neighborhood 21 Mar *[TASS]* ..... 62
Moscow Candidate on City's Problems *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 62
Vlasov Meets Rostov Electorate *[Moscow TV]* ..... 63
Public Organizations Elect Deputies *[TASS]* ..... 64
Writers, Journalists Elect Deputies *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Mar]* ..... 65
75 Deputies To Represent Komsomol *[TASS]* ..... 65
'Elections Without Choice' Pondered *[PRAVDA 21 Mar]* ..... 65
Deputies' Group on Delimitation of Powers Meets *[IZVESTIYA 21 Mar]* ..... 67
Yakovlev Interviewed on Restructuring, Plenum *[Milan L'UNITA 19 Mar]* ..... 67
Consumers Cooperative Congress Continues Discussion *[Moscow TV]* ..... 69
Slyunkov Chairs Socioeconomic Policy Commission *[PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 69
Vlasov, Baklanov Attend Moscow Workers' Meeting *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 70
Estonian Front Spokesman Addresses 24 Feb Ceremony *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 28 Feb]* ..... 70
Estonian People's Front Leader Interviewed *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 19 Mar]* ..... 71
Estonian 'Interdvizheniye' Leader Interviewed *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 19 Mar]* ..... 72
Estonian Movement Cites 'Creeping Counterrevolution' *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 7 Mar]* ..... 73
Protests Voiced Over Estonian Pricing Policy *[IZVESTIYA 14 Mar]* ..... 75
'Alarming Situation' in Estonia Noted *[Teterin in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Mar]* ..... 77
* Estonian Resolution on Compensation for Repression ..... 79
Text of Resolution *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 24 Feb]* ..... 79
Official Explains Procedures *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 24 Feb]* ..... 81
Latvian Independence Movement 'Alien to' Renewal *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 5 Mar]* ..... 82
Official Clarifies 6 Mar Riga Rally 'Rumors' *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 8 Mar]* ..... 83
Interviews Featured Before 12 Mar Latvian Rally *[Riga Radio]* ..... 84
Nationalism, 'Stereotypes' in Latvia Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Mar]* ..... 85
Democratic Union Commemorative Rally Criticized *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 14 Mar]* ..... 88
* Culture Minister on 'Memorial' Society *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 11 Mar]* ..... 89
6,000 Arrested in Moscow Crime Sweep *[Moscow International]* ..... 90
Moscow Restricts Officials' Vehicular Privileges *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 90
New Uzbek Presidium Chairman Interviewed *[IZVESTIYA 11 Mar]* ..... 90
Campaign Against Corruption in Uzbekistan *[Moscow TV]* ..... 92
Earthquake Recorded in Kirghiz Mountains *[TASS]* ..... 92
Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Names Ministers *[SOVETTIK KYRGYSTAN 2 Mar]* ..... 92
Pay 'Conflict' at Donetsk Mine Resolved *[IZVESTIYA 21 Mar]* ..... 93
Charges Against Moldavian Party Official Detailed *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 23 Feb]* ..... 93
Gorbachev, Others Attend Bolshoy Soiree *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 94
* Ligachev, Others Sign Borin Obituary *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 11 Mar]* ..... 94
Analysis of Lenin's 'New Economic Policy' Continued *[IZVESTIYA 11 Mar]* ..... 95
* Medvedev Comments Further on 1930's Repressions *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 11]* ..... 99
Assassination Attempt on Andropov Denied *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 100
Discontinued Broadcast Jamming Service Described *[PRAVDA 15 Mar]* ..... 101
Schools Receive Restructuring Guidelines *[TASS]* ..... 102
* AIDS Discrimination in Elista Cited *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 15 Mar]* ..... 102
* Nature Preservation Committee Meets 10 Mar *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 11 Mar]* ..... 103
* Accurate Maps Reveal Former 'Secrets' *[PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK No 5]* ..... 103
* Flight Personnel Association Formed *[VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT 28 Feb]* ..... 104

**Economic**

Draft on Republic Economic Autonomy Outlined *[TASS]* ..... 106

**Scientific**

'Phobos' Probe Moved Into Synchronous Orbit *[TASS]* ..... 106
Two Cosmonauts To Replace Colleagues on 'Mir' *[TASS]* ..... 106
Ships Take Supplies to Antarctic Base *[Moscow International]* ..... 107

**Military**

Army Denies Censoring Television Broadcasts *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Mar]* ..... 107

## * Officials Answer Questions on Arms, Naval Cuts

*18070564 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 11, 18-24 Mar 89 p 7*

[Article under rubric "In the USSR Press Center": "Toward Security in Europe"]

[Text] A regular briefing was held for Soviet and foreign journalists by V. Karpov, USSR deputy minister for foreign affairs; V. Kuklev, deputy chief of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; and G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. Answers were given to journalists' questions.

[Question] In May the NATO Council will consider plans for the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. Will this not hinder the successful course of negotiations in Vienna?

[Karpov] The mandate of the Vienna negotiations does not provide for discussions on tactical nuclear weapons. The subject of negotiations at that time in Vienna is dual purpose systems, aviation and artillery, which are capable of employing both a nuclear and a conventional charge. We believe, nonetheless, that this is inadequate for building a system of security in Europe on a firm foundation that would exclude the possibility of a surprise attack and the execution of large-scale operations. Therefore, along with negotiations on conventional weapons, negotiations are necessary on tactical nuclear weapons. If measures are taken by NATO to modernize tactical nuclear systems, this will have a negative effect on the prospects for achieving agreement in Vienna, inasmuch as measures for strengthening NATO's nuclear potential will be conducted simultaneously with measures being taken to reduce conventional weapons and armed forces. We have announced officially that the USSR is not modernizing its own tactical nuclear missiles, which is "forgotten" in the West from time to time.

[Question] How can the West verify that the USSR is not engaged in a modernization of tactical nuclear weapons?

[Karpov] There are a large number of possibilities for employing so-called national technical means. After all, these weapons are not a pistol that can be concealed in a pocket. These are missile systems that are deployed at specially equipped positions that fall within the framework of larger formations [soyedineniye]. The replacement of one kind of missile with another would be noticeable.

[Question] FRG Chancellor Kohl has called on the Soviet leadership to remove the chemical weapons that are located in forward positions, which would show that the USSR is ready for unilateral steps in the area of chemical disarmament. How would you comment on this?

[Karpov] What does "forward positions" mean? If it is Ryazan, for example, we could, maybe, remove our chemical weapons, which we do have there and in the amount of stocks which we have announced. If it is claimed that chemical weapons are deployed outside our national borders, then there is no truth to this assertion. All of our chemical weapons are within the boundaries of our territory. If there are any doubts on this account, we are ready, for example, to conduct appropriate monitoring with the United States.

[Question] Can one expect in the near future that new Soviet initiatives will appear on a unilateral reduction of naval forces, particularly submarines, in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans?

[Kuklev] I would like to remind you that the U.S. in comparison with the USSR, and NATO in comparison with the Warsaw Pact organization, have a significant advantage in the area of naval forces. Therefore, a unilateral reduction of naval forces by the Soviet Union is incomprehensible.

G. Gerasimov reported that reports on reductions in manpower strengths in the Leningrad Military District have appeared in the Swedish press which referred to information of the delegation of the military committee of the Norwegian storting [legislature]. As it turned out, during conversations at the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, this delegation was told that approximately 20,000 personnel of the Leningrad Military District and forces of the Northern Fleet would be reduced within the scope of reductions of Soviet armed forces by 500,000 persons. In 1986 and 1987, about 700 tanks were moved out of the north of the European part of the USSR, and there are no major tank units [soyedineniye] there now. Two missile-equipped submarines have been removed from the composition of the Soviet Baltic Fleet.

G. Gerasimov remarked that we received with satisfaction the announcement by the American side concerning the acceleration in withdrawing American chemical weapons from the FRG and about the fact that binary weapons now being produced in the United States will not be deployed in Europe.

## Latest SDI Variant Called 'Utterly Senseless'

*PM2003121389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by V. Bogachev, TASS military observer: "False Luster"]

[Text] The new Washington administration's current "review" of U.S. military policy has prompted the Pentagon to attempt to shore up the shaky reputation of the U.S. "Star Wars" program and ensure its continuation.

Another "leak of confidential information, arranged by the U.S. military department, enabled the U.S. press to publish reports on a memorandum by former head of the

strategic defense initiative program Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, in which he "validates" the new version of extensive ABM defense, called "brilliant pebbles." In contrast to past arguments in support of SDI, Abrahamson's memorandum places the emphasis on the comparatively low cost of the first stage of the program—"only" $25 billion over 5 years. In February Edward Teller, "father of the U.S. hydrogen bomb," claimed that each interceptor-"pebble" would cost less than $1 million.

The "brilliant pebbles" program, devised at the Livermore Laboratories, envisages putting into space several thousand miniature sensory interceptors, each of which will carry its own computer, propulsion system, and a system for homing in on missile exhaust in the boost phase. The ground-based management and control complex would cost $4 billion, according to Abrahamson.

The former SDI head claims that the new interceptors would be able to destroy missiles by the kinetic-kill method. But he did not cite any figures on the percentage of launched missiles that are likely to be destroyed. Nor did he repeat, of course, former U.S. President Reagan's words to the effect that SDI will make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." Yet even if 1-3 percent of the launched warheads were to reach their targets it would result in an unprecedented disaster in the country that had unleashed the nuclear war.

The new version of SDI, like all past versions, is utterly senseless militarily, because its implementation would not protect the United States from a retaliatory strike and would not give the U.S. populace the slightest security in the event of a nuclear war. With or without an extensive ABM system, of the new or old variety, the country delivering the first nuclear strike would only have the dubious privilege of perishing second.

U.S. experts immediately were strongly critical of Abrahamson's "brilliant pebbles" version, stating that the United States does not yet have the requisite technology to create the interceptors and therefore there is no question of completing the first stage of the "star wars" program in 5 years. The U.S. newspaper THE BOSTON GLOBE calls the Pentagon's intention to launch an ABM arms race, at a time when opportunities have arisen for safeguarding U.S. security by reducing armaments and limiting military expenditure at talks with the USSR, a perversion.

The new version of the U.S. "Star Wars" program is more like another Pentagon bluff, to get U.S. Congress to cough up money for the continuation of the "Star Wars" program and then try to draw the Soviet Union into an expensive space strike arms race, thereby hindering Soviet plans to boost the country's economy.

## Testing of New U.S. Cruise Missiles Criticized

*AU2103145489 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Mar 89 p 4*

[Interview with USSR Major General Vasiliy Pavlov by OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent Vasil Asparukhov: "'Invisible Missiles' Create Visible Problems"—in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] At a moment when talks are being conducted on the main trends of decreasing world tension and doing away with the mountains of weapons, we witness certain actions on the part of the United States and NATO that evoke bewilderment, to put it mildly. Recently it became known that the tests of a new U.S. cruise missile, built with Stealth technology, will begin on Canadian territory. We asked Major General Vasiliy Pavlov for more details.

[Pavlov] This is a missile of the new generation. Its flying range is 4,000 km and it has a 200 kilotonne warhead. Its radial deviation is 30 to 50 meters; in other words, it is highly accurate. In fact, this missile is essentially different from its predecessor, whose flight range was 2,600 km. Thus, we are talking about the newest first-strike system. It has been envisaged that 1,500 such missiles will be produced.

The fact that this missile has been developed using Stealth technology is a great advantage. This is a special technology. Missiles and airplanes built with this technology can be detected only with great difficulty by modern radar. As a first-strike weapon this air-based missile can efficiently be used by the U.S. strike weapons.

[Asparukhov] Comrade General, we know that the Geneva talks on the 50-percent reduction of strategic strike weapons have entered their final stage. Simultaneously, there are significant obstacles, which hinder the working out of the concluding document. In light of this, how do you view the issue of the air-based cruise missiles?

[Pavlov] Three main issues remained unsolved at the Geneva talks. I shall briefly recall the first two, and then return to your question. First of all, there is the issue of observing the ABM agreements, confirmed during the December 1987 Washington summit between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. Now the United States is trying to interpret the ABM Treaty "broadly," something that would allow it to conduct activities which could prompt the spread of the arms race to space.

The second circle of disputed issues relates to sea-based missiles. The United States is making a serious attempt to exclude these missiles from the framework of a future agreement, basing its position on the "impossibility" of verifying their elimination. Even certain Western specialists were forced to expose the insolvency of this

thesis, and I do not intend to dwell on it. I would only like to stress that a serious threat to mankind's future will emerge if sea-based cruise missiles are not included in the future treaty.

The third circle of unsolved issues is related to the air-based cruise missiles and their carriers. You know that an agreement on 1,600 carriers and 6,000 warheads has been achieved in principle. However, the dispute revolves around the question of how to calculate them. We propose to include all heavy bombers in the number of carriers, while the United States insists on excluding heavy bombers armed with conventional weapons. Simultaneously, it is no secret that in a case of conflict the conventional weapons can quickly be replaced by nuclear ones. Second, we propose to calculate the number of warheads on the basis of the maximum number of missiles that can be carried by a bomber of a given type, while the United States insists on an average quantity. What guarantee is there that, if we agree to this position, these airplanes will not be equipped with additional weapons in order to utilize their maximum capability?

[Asparukhov] What danger does the decision of the Canadian Government represent? This decision completely contradicts the positive changes in the world arena.

[Pavlov] In an attempt to justify its decision, the Canadian Government stated that it views the cruise missile produced on the basis of Stealth technology as an important contribution to maintaining the "efficient strategic stance of NATO." They even dig out completely insolvent arguments, such as the claim that at the Geneva talks the United States and the USSR already agreed to keep the improved cruise missiles as a part of their future modernized strategic forces.

I think that this decision of the Canadian Government does not correspond to the general tendency toward improving the international situation and limiting the arms race. This decision completely contradicts the declaration of the Canadian Government that it fully supports the process of establishing arms controls. It destabilizes the process of disarmament, which obtained a strong impetus as a result of the unilateral measures in the sphere of disarmament that were adopted by the socialist countries.

## U.S Force Reductions in Asia, Pacific Urged

*OW2203012889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Mar 89*

[Shakov commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, the Soviet Foreign Ministry announced at a news briefing that three-fourths of the Soviet troops in Mongolia will be withdrawn from that country. Moreover, Army units will either be deactivated or reduced in strength.

The spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out: All Soviet Air Force units in Mongolia will be withdrawn and deactivated. Shakov, a commentator for this station, has the following comments on the matter:

The Soviet leader has reiterated that he agrees to a reduction of arms and armed forces. Our country will abandon the principle of excessive armament and practice the principle of meeting national defense needs. This also involves both Europe and Asia. In his speech at Krasnoyarsk, Comrade Gorbachev put forward a concrete proposal on safeguarding peace in the Asia-Pacific region. The key to improving the situation in this region and in the world as a whole lies in efforts to ease tension, reduce armaments, and change military policy accordingly. The INF Treaty has made the first break in the military confrontation in both the Asia-Pacific region and Europe. This step is of special significance to Asia, where nuclear weapons were once used against civilians. It is very important to take a further step with the new comprehensive proposal.

To freeze nuclear weapons and naval strength in the Asia-Pacific region, freeze or reduce air force and naval strength in the area bordering the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea, and withdraw all foreign troops from Asian countries can yield great political effects. People should keep this fact in mind when looking at the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

The Soviet Union has decided to withdraw three-fourths of its troops from Mongolia and disband its Air Force units there. Asian nations speak very highly of the decision. Such a step taken by the Soviet Union should evoke corresponding U.S. responses.

The Philippine people are demanding the dismantling of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. South Korean people are resolutely demanding the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from the southern part of the Korean peninsula. The broad masses of Japanese people are demanding the removal of the U.S. military presence in their country. The peoples of ASEAN nations, South Korea, North Korea, Japan, and other countries are appealing for the conversion of the Asia-Pacific region into a nuclear-free zone. The Soviet Union's constructive proposal has pointed out a correct orientation.

## Official Explains Need for Military Exercises

*PM2103120989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by Major General Yu. Lebedev, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, under the rubric "Dialogue. Answering Readers' Questions": "Why Military Exercises Are Necessary"; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] "I wholly support our government's policy of easing tension, of disarmament. There is no doubt that the international climate is changing for the better. What

I was thinking was: Do we and the Western countries need military maneuvers in these conditions? Are military exercises organized for the purpose of intimidating one another?
"N. Dubenko, Novorossiysk."

A PRAVDA correspondent asked Major General Yu. Lebedev, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, to comment on this letter:

The international climate is indeed changing for the better. More and more people in the world are coming to believe in the integral and interdependent nature of the world in which we live. So it is natural to ask whether we and the West need to conduct military exercises and whether this is done to intimidate one another.

Military exercises are the supreme and most effective form of armed forces combat training and are recognized as such in all countries of the world. But, while acknowledging this form of training, it is necessary to define the objective and purpose of the exercises. In the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries much has been done in recent years to make their militatry doctrines entirely defensive. This new approach is reflected not only in political commitments, but in a whole series of practical measures: determining the composition and structure of the armed forces and the thrust of military development, and operational and combat training. It is for the purpose of rehearsing defensive operations that the USSR and its allies conduct their military exercises.

The NATO countries are well aware that we have considerably reduced the number of major exercises and maneuvers and that we also display restraint in day-to-day military activity. But we are concerned about the exercises and maneuvers carried out in the United States and within the NATO framework. Such maneuvers as, for example, "Autumn Forge" and "Team Spirit" or U.S. Strategic Air Command exercises have assumed dimensions and a character that are not appropriate to a period of easing the international situation. Judge for yourselves: Hundreds of thousands of servicemen, thousands of tanks, armored equipment, and strike aircraft participate simultaneously in these maneuvers. They are a rehearsal of blatantly aggressive actions aimed at inflicting damage on the opposing side from the very start of a war. Such exercises are also dangerous because one cannot by any means always tell whether they are exercises or actual armed forces deployment.

In recent years it has been possible to do a great deal to ease tension, including monitoring military activity, carried out on a reciprocal basis. As a result of the Stockholm accords (1986) on confidence-building and security measures and disarmament in Europe, ground forces' exercises in that region were restricted. The Warsaw Pact countries participating in the talks in Vienna on confidence-building and security measures in Europe advocate extending restrictive measures to military exercises, to cover, in particular, independent air force and naval actions. It was for that reason that the Soviet Union put forward proposals on limiting military activity in other parts of the world. But, on various pretexts, the United States and its allies have not yet agreed to limit the scale of exercises and to the monitoring of their naval and air forces. The national territories of the United States and Canada remain outside the sphere of the measures that have been adopted on confidence-building and monitoring.

## Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 21 Mar

### Updates Afghanistan Situation

*LD2103143689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar, (TASS)—The situation in Afghanistan continues to be tense. Fierce battles are continuing in the area of the city of Jalalabad, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

Despite the great losses which the rebels have sustained near Jalalabad, he went on, an attempted attack against the Jalalabad airport was undertaken once again during the night of the Islamic New Year, 20 to 21 March. The rebels seized several security posts and, as a result of subversive actions, a bridge was destroyed on the Kabul-Jalalabad highway.

Government troops inflicted massive artillery and aerial bombardment on the atacking groupings of the opponent, who lost more than 400 killed and wounded. After this the government troops went over to the offensive and freed the seized posts.

The spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry noted that the new flare-up of combat action shows that the leaders of the Afghan opposition are not giving up hope of seizing territory close to the Afghan-Pakistani frontier where they are throwing ever-new forces into the attack without consideration for their losses. According to reports by the Afghan mass information media, 25 Pakistani servicemen and militiamen have been killed in the past 24 hours.

Discord among the armed opposition is continuing, Vadim Perfilyev noted; a whole series of formations are giving up their participation in the armed struggle. However much the leaders of the Afghan opposition attempt, with the help of Western "voices", to create an impression that the offensive near Jalalabad has been supported by all the main "Islamic parties," the representation of many of them in the battles in the province of Nangarhar remains nevertheless purely symbolic.

### Comments on El Salvador Elections

*LD2103145389 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The entire responsibility for the continuation of the fratricidal war in El Salvador rests with the ruling circles of that country which failed to rise above their egoistic interests and thereby doom the popular masses to new sacrifices and privations, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said at a briefing here on Tuesday.

Commenting on the presidential election, held in El Salvador against the background of unceasing armed clashes between goverrnment troops and the fightingmen of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, he recalled that the FMNLF leadership suggested postponing the election till September to have an opportunity to participate in it.

"The acceptance of the proposal," the USSR Foreign Ministry's spokesman emphasized, "would have created conditions for the start of a process of national reconciliation and the establishment of peace in that country where the civil war has been going on for almost ten years now. Unfortunately, the government and the command of the armed forces rejected the initiative, thereby blocking the way to a political settlement of the civil conflict in El Salvador."

### Notes Ties With Africa

*LD2103134389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar (TASS)—Anatoliy Adamishin, a special representative of the Soviet leadership and deputy USSR foreign minister, intends to visit Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, and possibly, certain other countries between 21 and 30 March in order to meet their leaders. A meeting with SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] President Sam Nujoma is also planned, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing here today.

During these meetings, he said, problems of settling conflict situations in this region will be discussed, as well as matters concerning bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the "frontline states" and other topical international issues.

The Soviet Union, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, is paying constant attention to the development of events on the continent of Africa and to reinforcing bilateral political contacts and cooperation with African countries, taking into account their important place and increasing role in international politics. The Soviet Union advocates the political settlement of burning issues in southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, and other regions of the continent.

The USSR, Vadim Perfilyev went on, has played, specifically, a constructive role in unravelling the Angola-Namibia knot of conflict in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia. "We think that the positive trends which have taken shape in dealing with the Angola-Namibia situation should be immediately reinforced and their salutary influence spread to other points of conflict on the continent of Africa."

### Describes Relations With Hungary

*LD2103195989 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] At a briefing here in Moscow, the first deputy head of the Foreign Ministry Information Department, Vadim Perfilyev, has told Soviet and foreign journalists of the current state of the Soviet-Hungarian relations.

Vadim Perfilyev described contacts between the two nations as large-scale and many-sided. He mentioned regular meetings and consultations at both top and lower levels between prominent party and government officials. He said there had been regular contacts also in other areas. The two countries, he pointed out, saw eye-to-eye on key global problems.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that for all the existing difficulties in bilateral economic relations, the USSR continued to be Hungary's main trade partner; specifically it was responsible for nearly 30 percent of that country's foreign trade turnover. Hungary, for its part, continued to rank fifth in Soviet foreign trade. Last year's volume of trade between the two nations had totalled R9.4 billion. Work was underway to promote new forms of cooperation. Two hundred and twenty Soviet and Hungarian enterprises have established direct links between themselves, organized 13 joint ventures, 2 international amalgamations, and 17 research centers. Vadim Perfilyev went on to say specialists in the two countries were currently drafting a vision for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation for the next 15-20 years on the basis of new principles of economic interaction.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Soviet Government was taking measures to improve the position of the ethnic Hungarians living in the USSR, and comprehensively promote the development of the Hungarian language, culture and traditions. In order to envigorate ties and contacts among residents of the border-lying districts, border crossings procedures had been simplified as of the 1st of this month at four checkpoints on the Soviet-Hungarian border. There were plans to subsequently spread practices of this kind to the rest of the border posts.

### Notes Hungary's Grosz Visit

*LD2103164489 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—In connection with the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic [as received], observed this Tuesday, and with taking into consideration Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming meeting with Karoly Grosz in the framework of the Hungarian leader's working visit to Moscow, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, emphasised at a briefing here the international importance of political cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Having coinciding views on the main world problems, our two countries, together with other Warsaw Treaty member-states, pursue vigorous and purposeful policy in the international arena, based on the philosophy of new thinking, the striving for the consolidation of peace, security and cooperation".

Touching upon the situation in Afghanistan, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasised that the rift in the Afghan opposition is widening.

"No matter how hard Afghan opposition leaders have been trying, often with the help of Western radio services, to create the impression that the offensive on Jalalabad has been supported by all the main 'Islamic parties', the representation of many of them in the battles in Nangarhar Province remains purely symbolical", Perfilyev said. "One of the two main anti-government organisations, 'The Islamic Society of Afghanistan' virtually keeps apart from fighting. A number of other organisations are represented by only small units".

Commenting on presidential elections in El Salvador which took place against the background of incessant clashes between government forces and fighters of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, Perfilyev noted that the front's leadership had proposed to put off the holding of elections till September, so as to be able to participate in it.

"The entire responsibility for the continuation of the fratricidal war in El Salvador rests with the ruling circles of that country which failed to rise above their egoistic interests and thereby doom the popular masses to new sacrifices and privations," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

He also said that special representative of the Soviet leadership, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin will visit from March 21 to March 30 Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, and, possibly some other countries to meet with their leaders. There are also plans for meeting with SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] President Sam Nujoma.

Problems of the settlement of conflict situations in the region as well as questions of bilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union and "frontline states" and other topical international problems will be discussed.

### Return of EEC Envoys to Tehran Welcomed

*LD2203133389 Moscow TASS In English 1326 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman made the following statement here today:

"Following the exacerbation of relations between Iran and a number of Western countries in the wake of the publication of Salman Rushdie's book, the European Community staged a collective demarche last February, by recalling the senior diplomatic representatives of the EEC countries from Tehran.

"The foreign ministers of the community decided at a session in Brussels several days ago that each community member shall itself decide on the level of its diplomatic representation in Tehran. Some EEC members are reported to have already declared that they intend to return their ambassadors to Tehran.

"We see this as a positive step helping to settle the situation. It is in line with the Soviet approach, with efforts made by the Soviet side, including those during the Soviet foreign minister's meetings in Tehran and Vienna, to ease tension in relations between the EEC countries and Iran."

**'Roundtable' on Arms Controls, Afghanistan, Rushdie**
*LD1903184289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Mar 89*

["International Observers at the Roundtable" program with Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, member of the Soviet Union Telegraphic Agency Collegium and chief foreign news editor of TASS; Vsevolod Ivanovich Solva, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate; and All-Union Radio commentator Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. The attention that has been paid abroad to the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has shown once again that, whatever we may do, and whatever initiatives we may put forward on the international scene, everyone now is looking first of all at what is happening in our own country and how our own restructuring is progressing. Interest in what might seem to be our purely domestic affairs has never been greater. We know that our country's foreign policy is a continuation of its internal policy. In that sense, the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the program which it adopted on the basis of Comrade Gorbachev's report for establishing new economic relations in our rural areas, have shown that our restructuring is continuing. That implies a continuation of the political line which ensures it, the essence of which is a vigorious effort to overcome confrontation in international relations and the development of international cooperation.

[Solva] All the news from abroad is full of reports from Moscow, and the analyses of the great changes in the sphere of domestic—above all, agrarian—policy alternate with reflections with regard to the continuity of the Soviet Union's political line. The conclusions are drawn that the course which has been set and made known by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his speech at the session of the General Assembly will continue and that it will continue to be pursued very actively.

[Pasko] There is a heated debate going on in the West at present as to the attitude that should be adopted toward our policy and whether or not to respond to it, and if so to what extent. At the heart of the controversy is the question of whether it is better for the West that the Soviet Union should be strong or weak. It's an interesting debate, but the important thing now is something else, namely: What conclusions are being drawn by those who determine Western policy?

[Chukseyev] Of special interest in this respect is a statement made in the Congress last week by U.S. Secretary of State Baker. He said: In the opinion of the United States, restructuring is a good thing for the Soviet Union and for the world. I'm aware that some people in the United States may think differently. Those people may consider that a weakening of the Soviet Union could be to the advantage of the United States. Our administration takes a different view. But we think the success of restructuring depends in practice on what is being done inside the Soviet Union and not on what the West may or may not do in response to it.

[Pasko] Baker's words that Vitaliy Yakovlevich has just quoted show the direction that the new U.S. Administration is taking in drawing up its foreign policy, which I think should be an improvement on the old. Notice how President Bush presented the crux of the problem at his meeting with insurance company representatives on 14 March: The question we've got to find an answer to is this, he said: Will U.S. foreign policy be flexible enough to cope with new and potentially serious events in the world? What is being directly confronted is not the question of strength—so typical of the previous U.S. leadership—but the question of flexibility.

[Chukseyev] I have noted another statement by Bush. He was speaking in Houston, Texas. There he dealt with the question of the foreign policy changes that his administration is examining. He said in his speech that on his instructions a team of national security experts is now carrying out a series of analyses of foreign policy in the sphere of defense. What some people are saying, said Bush, is that we must hurry so as not to give Mr Gorbachev a chance to gain the advantage in his speech at the United Nations and shape public opinion in Europe. But, the President continued, the United States must first of all complete a thorough analysis of its foreign policy and its national security needs; then, having done that, we will move forward together with our allies. And he ended his speech as follows: I am confident that I can tell my 11 grandchildren that a genuine possibility exists of making this year, the year 2000, and so on more peaceful.

It was an encouraging speech, as you can see. It will be interesting to see how this approach will be interpreted at the special NATO Council session at the level of heads of state and government in Brussels on 29 and 30 May.

[Solva] Yes, these are times when you've got to analyze your approach while continuing to move—reorganize yourself on the march, as they say. Time waits for no man and the talks in Vienna which began a fortnight ago are already being looked at from the viewpoint of future specific results. It's indicative that that attitude is being shown not only in Moscow, where very detailed and closely argued proposals have been published on this subject, but also in Washington, where thought is being given to this. At a U.S. Defense Department briefing on 16 March, it was stated that the beginning of the talks had shown that they hold great promise. What is the basis of this assessment of talks which might seem to be not so very different, in membership and subject matter, from previous ones? What is the distinguishing feature of the initial stage of the talks at the present time? For the first time in the whole postwar period, the degree of probability of an armed conflict has been so far reduced that there is now a real chance of Europe moving in the direction of disarmament. Further, there's a solid foundation. There is a general realization of the need to eliminate imbalances in the troops and armaments of both alliances, reduce them to agreed levels, and to introduce stringent measures for the monitoring of agreements that have been reached. Moreover, the very fact that talks are being held on a new basis is proof of the increased stability and trust in East-West relations. This is an initial basis and a very serious one. That's a noticeable difference from the recent past in Vienna.

[Chukseyev] I agree with you absolutely, Vsevolod Ivanovich. Of course there's little point in making any predictions at present as to the time or content of possible accords. After all, the problems that are now being examined in Vienna are very, very complex. Nevertheless, an optimistic note is being sounded in statements on the subject by well-known political figures and in world press comment. It is quite clear, though, that there are quite a few barriers to be overcome before accords can be achieved. And one of the main obstacles is that the NATO countries have no unified position on these issues. It is not for nothing that, in their comments on the speeches by Western participants at a recent opening ceremony of the talks, observers have been comparing them to the prescriptions of doctors who recommend different treatments for the same disease. In their opinion, the common denominator could be provided by the Soviet plan, which is based on the principle that the security of one side cannot be achieved at the expense of the other.

[Pasko] I think we're fully justified in saying today that our plan has, overall, been well received in the West. This can be seen not only from press statements, but also from what the politicians have been saying. Both note a certain closeness in the concepts of our plan and NATO's. It consists of the fact that the sides set the aim of eliminating imbalances, reducing military confrontation, and above all reducing offensive and destabilizing types and categories of armaments. But there, perhaps, the similarity ends. Unlike ours, the NATO concept does not envisage any reduction of the numerical strength of forces; it also artificially narrows the selection of destabilizing armaments subject to priority reduction. The NATO countries still refuse to accept the idea of establishing zones or regions of lowered armament levels along the line of confrontation of the two alliances. They are unwilling to extend measures to strengthen trust and security to the activities of air and naval forces.

While noting a certain consonance between the conceptual approaches of NATO and the Warsaw Pact to the problems of reducing conventional forces in Europe, the press of the NATO countries has admitted that the countries of the Warsaw Pact have proposed more drastic reductions, reductions which the NATO bloc won't accept.

[Chukseyev] Although the unexpected proposals of the Soviet Union on new mutual reductions in arms were generally favorably received in the West, writes THE WALL STREET JOURNAL for instance, military experts in Washington believe the Soviet Union is raising the stakes so much that it will be difficult for the United States and its allies to respond in kind. Well, as you see, these are fairly clear-cut utterances. But I would like to note that the point is not increasing the stakes, which THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ascribes to us, and even less so increasing them arbitrarily. The point is for the reductions, the need for which is evident, not to damage the security of the sides, for them not to disrupt parity. This presupposes a balanced nature, because as the sides have agreed in principle on reducing offensive armaments they ought to reduce not only tanks, combat vehicles, and infantry, of which the Warsaw Pact has more, but also strike aviation and helicopters, of which NATO has a preponderance.

Clearly NATO is not as yet ready to understand the problem in this way. If one is to speak of the difficulties which the participants of the Vienna meeting will have to overcome, then, in my view, they lie not so much in a capacity to resolve certain specific technical issues pertaining to reduction, but rather in a capacity to resolve fundamental issues. The NATO politicians are seemingly entrenched in their assertion of supremacy belonging to the Warsaw Pact in conventional weapons. However, data published by the Warsaw Pact shows the opposite is true. Will the NATO politicians at long last have the courage to take a sober look at the state of affairs? The success of the talks in Vienna depends primarily, I feel, precisely on this. Disarmament matters are exceptionally complicated. They are complicated because they are connected with security. And if the sides have got as far as agreement that arsenals should be reduced then flexibility must be displayed. The flexibility which the U.S. President has now mentioned is very

badly needed. It is badly needed not just by the United States alone. It is badly needed at the Vienna talks. It is very much needed for international relations in general.

Just look at what is currently happening in Afghanistan. On the 15th, marked precisely 1 month since, in accordance with the Geneva talks which were directed at peaceful settlement of the situation in that country, our troops left Afghanistan. But just look at what a bloodbath is happening there now.

[Solva] Yes. One month later we see that a time of grave trials has begun. Nine years of armed conflict have, alas, taught nothing to an opposition which claims a right to speak for the Afghan people. The Republic of Afghanistan, despite enemy forecasts, is continuing to live, although it is living a tense life which is unfortunately still one of combat. The April revolution is defending itself, is upholding the freedom of choice which was made, incidentally, in a democratic manner, without any outside interference.

All the indications are that the mujahidin do not want national reconciliation. They are continuing to assume and to act in the hope that the gun gives birth to power. Despite considerable human and material losses, the so-called irreconcilables are attempting to storm the Afghan cities, in particular Jalalabad. There are now reports of an attack on Herat. The ruins of Jalalabad, which had tens of thousands of shells and missiles fired at it, and the hundreds of dead and thousands of injured civilians, are not making the opposition think twice and are not bringing it to its senses. I think that people both in Islamabad and in Washington should experience pangs of conscience in this regard.

[Pasko] You know, I recall an article by Harrison, a high-ranking staff member of the Carnegie Foundation, which was published in THE WASHINGTON POST a year ago. He warned even then that if the United States and the Soviet Union would not support UN efforts to create a coalition government in Afghanistan through negotiations, then a further and still more bloody war would ensue upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The broadly advertized opinion that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan government will crumble as soon as the withdrawal of Soviet forces begins is dubious, he wrote. Loyalty and patriotism are not a monopoly of the resistance fighters.

What we are currently seeing indicates that the Harrison forecast has proven to be correct. But he, incidentally, warned not only of that back then. He wrote of how the deliveries of arms to the Afghan resistance might turn out to be a disaster for the United States. If one is to judge by a report of THE NEW YORK TIMES, the United States is now trying to retrieve hundreds of Stingers which are in the hands of the Afghan opposition.

[Chukseyev] It is thought that there are some 500 such Stingers now, although the U.S. intelligence services have themselves lost count. One can now say in general that the Stinger supplies were the culmination of the largest CIA operation since World War II to move arms to another country. It is calculated that the CIA delivered armaments with a value of some $2 billion to the Afghan opposition and other equipment worth $1 billion. I will mention, however, that far from all these immense sums of money were used as prescribed. The United States had to rely on the corresponding Pakistani channels, primarily Pakistani intelligence, and the latter is keeping secret how much of the U.S. taxpayers' money was stolen. Sizeable sums also went into the pockets of the so-called freedom fighters among the Afghan opposition leaders.

[Solva] Reports coming in from Kabul say that some Pakistani officers have been captured who were acting among the ranks of the opposition forces at Jalalabad. Moreover, one senses the involvement of the regular Pakistani—and clearly not just the Pakistani—Army in the long-range artillery which has been moved across the border, in the manner of the storming of the city and the logistic support, including guided anti-tank missiles. Now, when the units which are coming from Pakistan are the only foreign troops, it is particularly evident that this had been happening previously too; it was simply camouflaged by words and by references to the limited contingent of Soviet troops who were fulfilling their duty there by defending Afghanistan.

[Chukseyev] I think that you will agree, Vsevolod Ivanovich, that essentially we are currently witnessing an Afghan-Pakistani war. It is no secret that Pakistan has been allocated, in the Afghan strategy of the West, functions involving the practical implementation of that policy. After all, it is precisely Pakistan that has mostly served as the operations base for training the armed opposition; through it passed all the military aid to those forces from the United States and other countries. It has constantly been the source ofthe exacerbation of tension in this region, engaging in direct armed interference in Afghan affairs. Now interference has really attained such a broad scale that we are talking of operations by the regular army. I think that Islamabad in its fervor is even moving away from control by the West, and that is beginning to cause concern there. One comes across remarks in the press by diplomatic observers of many countries of the world, let us call them such, which express concern that Pakistani intelligence is attempting to confirm the Afghan fundamentalists as the leading political force in postwar Afghanistan. Apprehensions are also being noted that the United States has, in its time, given the Pakistani interdepartmental intelligence administration excessive freedom in this matter and they are reaping the fruits of their own policy.

[Solva] One interesting fact is the attitude toward the so-called provisional government of Afghanistan, the government which has been formed by the irreconcilable

opposition in Pakistan. Just three countries have recognized it—Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Bahrain. This is a government which is not recognized either by Pakistan, or by the United States, or by the West European patrons of the mujahidin. The Islamic conference, which has just taken place in Riyadh, gave the Alliance of Seven a seat, but no more. There will, of course, not be peace in Afghanistan while the opposition continues to try to attain power in Kabul by using arms.

However, there is, of course, a way out and people are thinking and writing about it. First, one must not close one's eyes to attempts to ignore the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. If one leafs through the wad of pages of the Western papers just published, it is possible to come to the depressing conclusion that international public opinion and the voice of responsible politicians are not yet being heard. Indifference and the hope of sitting it out in silence prevail. One must have a clear picture of the fact that a short-sighted, unrealistic policy is facilitating the continuation of inter-Afghan dissension. It is possible to put the Afghan settlement onto a peaceful footing. It is essential to work out in practice mutually acceptable compromises and political solutions with the aim of overcoming inter-Afghan divergences of view. President Najibullah and the Republic of Afghanistan Government are unshakably committed to the national reconciliation course. This is completely lacking in what the opposition is saying and doing. Incidentally, even in December last year at the UN General Assembly session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted the expediency of convening an international conference on Afghanistan. As applied to the present moment, this means that such a forum of all the interested states could be preceded by bilateral and multilateral meetings, including meetings with Afghanistan's neighboring states at both the working and conclusive levels. The main trend at the moment is toward undertaking a dialogue with the aim of setting up a broad-based government within Afghanistan and attaining a reasonable compromise that takes into account the balance of interests of all the political forces, without exception.

[Pasko] One of the main issues of the conference in Riyadh, of which we have already spoken, was Rushdie's book "The Satanic Verses." We are aware of the reaction in the Muslim world to that book. The reaction of Muslims to Rushdie's novel has been extremely sharp. Some believe that big politics lie behind that reaction, connected with the fate of the Islamic revolution, and that the appearance of "The Satanic Verses" helped Iran's spiritual leader, Khomeyni, to fight and gain victory over the pro-Western pragmatists who had stirred to life again following the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war. Rushdie is forced to live in secret, under guard, for Khomeyni has issued a religious decree for the assassination of Rushdie. I should like to note that in itself the religious decree is not a sentence. The religious decree is merely a judgment regarding any matter and is issued by a religious authority. A religious decree can only be the basis for a legal decision by the qadi, that is the religious judge of the Muslim community, or the qadi's court, that is the Shari'ah court. This detail is an important one since a judgment and a sentence are not one and the same. Incidentally, the first person here to draw attention to this fine point was Gorbylay of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. In this connection, the question arises as to whether an incorrect, or rather an inaccurate translation has not played a negative role in the events surrounding this book.

[Solva] Vladimir Georgiyevich, we can only guess. Although there are two versions of the translation: "The Satanic Verses" which is more neutral and the "The Satanic Surahs" which is more provocative since a surah is a chapter of the Koran. Incidentally, the Koran is fairly well-known throughout the world and if one takes a look in it, it is easy to find the postulate whereby offending against the Prophet, his family, or his wives, is punishable by death. We do not currently have information to say how many times this has been put into practice but evidently it has been in force. The further back one goes across the centuries, the greater force it evidently had. It is on precisely these grounds that the religious decree of which we've spoken, was pronounced. It is a religious decree and one that does not have the force of a legal, state, or government decision. And so I have every grounds for agreeing with you that there is no sentence. Sadly, however, this does get onto the pages of the press we read in Russian.

[Chukeyev] If, however, we come back to what I'd call the official stance of the Iranian Government, the statement on this by Islamic Parliament Speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani is interesting. The only way of assuaging the wrath of the Muslims is to burn every copy of the book and to ban it forever. It has to be said that this is precisely the path that a good many countries are taking at the moment. In Pakistan, for instance, the Bhutto government has called for a ban on the book and threatened to boycott its publishers. Indonesia likewise has forbidden the distribution of "The Satanic Verses" throughout the country. It has been announced there that those who possess a copy of "The Satanic Verses" must surrender it within 24 hours to the local authorities, while those who don't will be subjected to severe measures—1 month in prison or a fine of 15,000 Indonesian rupees. In India, the book was banned by Rajiv Gandhi's government as long ago as last year.

[Solva] In other words, as soon as it appeared.

[Pasko] The passions around "The Satanic Verses" continue. The Iran representative to the Riyadh conference called upon the Muslim countries to support Khomeyni's religious decree and also urged joint sanctions against countries which permit attacks on Islam. It must be said that this appeal had no effect, overall. Foreign affairs ministers of, for example, Saudi Arabia, pointed to the need to settle the contradictions that arise between countries with cultural and religious differences.

[Solva] Nonetheless, the Islamic Conference Organization did unanimously condemn this book as a deliberate attempt to offend the feelings of Muslims, an offense against Islam, and this has to be taken into account since it is the view of more than 40 of the world's states. Of course, it is for each country to respond to this book or that. I think we all staunchly uphold the point of view that no one has the right to excommunicate disapproval of authors from life, or indeed any person at all. At the same time, I wouldn't have drawn so sharp a parallel, to the effect that if a book is burnt, the author will be next.

[Chukseyev] The black arrow has been released but whether it will reach the author, by whom I mean Rushdie, remains unknown as yet. However, the reaction evoked by Rushdie's book in the Islamic world, already has its victims. People are dying, after all. They've died in India and a great many of them. They've died in Pakistan, if I'm not mistaken, and in other countries. These are actual people, you know. They've been killed and by a book.

[Solva] I'd like to recall the words of Mikhail Bulgakov who once said, prophetically, that manuscripts don't burn. But it's better when books play the role of a motive force for progress, embody moral principles, and do not lead to such bitter conflict.

[Pasko] I don't want to say that this is a parallel, but no doubt we would all have been glad, and not just us, but many millions, if Adolf Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" had not got beyond the manuscript stage.

[Solva] Sometimes one would prefer that certain manuscripts simply didn't become books.

[Chukseyev] The events of last week are not, of course, of equal significance. There have arisen and sadly remain, difficult situations in some areas of the world. In others there is undoubted progess. But the main thing, the main themes of the present time, I would give as a general thaw in the international situation and this, of course, can only give rise to optimism at the moment.

[Pasko] I agree, Vitaliy Yakovlevich. With all its individuality the development of events—even of those we've just touched upon—contains something in common that is typical of contemporary international relations. This is the undoubted move toward normalization, a process that is not unequivocal, that is contradictory but one that is underway. There, comrades, permit us to round up our meeting for today. Thank you for taking part and all the best.

**Ligachev Receives Cooperatives Alliance President**
*LD2103161389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar (TASS)—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received Lars Marcus, president of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), who is attending the 12th congress of the USSR Consumer Cooperatives as a guest.

The International Cooperative Alliance is one of the oldest nongovernmental organizations, in operation since 1895. It unites about 500 million cooperative workers in 73 countries. In the course of an animated discussion a constructive exchange of views took place on ways to step up the participation of Soviet cooperative workers in the activities of the alliance. There was discussion about the work of consumer cooperatives in implementing the party's agrarian policy in contemporary conditions, worked out at the March (1989) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

**Consular Relations Agreement Handed Over to UN**
*LD2203112189 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—A document on the Soviet Union's joining the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of April 24, 1963, was handed over on Wednesday to the U.N. secretary-general for keeping.

**UN Subcommittee Meets on Peaceful Use of Space**
*LD2103140489 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] New York March 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

The 28th session of the legal subcommittee of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space opened at U.N. Headquarters on Monday. The delegations of 53 countries in outer space continued elaborating provisions to ensure peaceful exploration and use of outer space.

The forthcoming three weeks should enable us to solve most of the questions on the agenda, session chairman Stanislav Suja (Czechoslovakia) told TASS.

The delegates will also discuss the use of nuclear energy in outer space. In previous years the legal subcommittee agreed through consensus on a number of principles in that sphere. Concerning geostationary orbits and the delimitation of inner and outer space, things are somewhat more complex although specific and very constructive proposals have been made by the GDR and developing countries in the equatorial zone.

It might seem that the legal subcommittee is considering irrelevant technical problems. But such an impression is wrong. Last year the subcommittee agreed that the exploration and use of outer space should be for the benefit of all states, with special consideration for the interests of developing countries. The states which have large space exploration potential are being called upon to help prevent an arms race in outer space.

With technology rapidly developing, man's activity in outer space becomes impossible without relevant legal backing. The session participants' understanding of the

importance of the tasks and political will for attaining concrete results will promote the success of the session, Stantislav Suja said in conclusion.

### U.S. 'Unilaterally' Altering Status of Micronesia

*LD1803095689 Moscow TASS in English 2358 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] New York March 18 TASS—The Trusteeship Council on Friday wound up its special session at which the Western majority decided to send a mission to Palau. This mission was charged with observing steps being taken to effect the "Compact of Free Association" of this archipelago with the United States. The fettering "compact" has nothing to do with the self-determination of the Palau people and pursues the goal to cover up the United States' annexation of this strategic territory, to turn it into Washington's military bridgehead in the Pacific region.

Britain, the United States and France favoured the draft resolution, the Soviet delegation voted against it.

The Soviet Union regards as unacceptable the attempts to use the Trusteeship Council for legalising the administering power's annexationist actions vis-a-vis the territory of the Pacific islands which is under U.N. trusteeship, said Dmitriy Bykov, the Soviet delegate. The United States is unilaterally trying to change the status of Micronesia, which is a violation of the U.N. Charter, he said.

The Trusteeship Council will meet for its regular session in May-June. In the U.N. circles they emphasise that under the U.N. Charter and the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples, the people of Micronesia should be extended the inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence as it was done with respect to several former U.N. Trust territories.

The attainment of this goal calls for joint actions of the U.N. member-states, a constructive dialogue, and a search for generally acceptable decisions. Representatives of the international community hope that precisely this approach will prevail at the council's regular session.

## United States & Canada

### Ex-Attache to U.S. Says Expulsion 'Provocation'

*LD2203085989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0837 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—"Yes, it was a provocation", Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov, former assistant to the military attache at the USSR Embassy in the United States, whom the U.S. State Department arranged to send out of the country for "activity incompatible with his diplomatic status", stated today in an interview with the army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

Recalling the situation when FBI agents pounced on him, Yuriy Pakhtusov commented that several times they proposed that he betray the motherland, remain in the United States, or travel to any other country where, in their words, a "life of paradise" awaited him. He resolutely rejected all this, and demanded that a representative of the Soviet Embassy be summoned. In the end, the FBI agents were forced to do this.

"I had the impression that I was in Washington not in March 1989, but during the worst outburst of anti-Soviet hysteria", stressed Yuriy Pakhtusov.

### Cheney's Record on U.S. Defense Issues Outlined

*PM2203101389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 First Edition p 3*

[Profile by A. Pakhomov under the "Who's Who" rubric: "Richard Cheney Is U.S. Secretary of Defense"]

[Excerpts] The 48-year-old Richard Bruce Cheney has become U.S. secretary of defense. Ninety-two out of the 100 senators—all present at the session—voted to confirm him in the post. [passage omitted]

According to Bush aides, the President's choice fell on Cheney for two basic reasons: First, he has a marvelous grasp of the way the Washington political machine functions and maintains good relations with many of the President's chief advisers; second, Cheney's deep roots in the House of Representatives could help solve many defense-related questions. Cheney is not only familiar with the problems of the military budget but also understands that it is Congress that has the ability to confirm or reject individual items.

Answering senators' questions last week, he said that, on arriving at the Pentagon, he intends to pay main attention to personnel matters, a general review of U.S. strategic doctrines, and the department's budgetary problems.

Citing Cheney's track record in the House, THE WASHINGTON POST notes that he supported the deployment of rail-mobile MX ICBM's rather than the deployment of the smaller Midgetman and voted for the production of war nerve gases and increased funding for the SDI program. "Like Bush, Cheney is in favor of continuing research (on the SDI program)," the paper stressed. He opposed congressional attempts to ban the testing of ASAT weapons and underground nuclear tests. Cheney is a firm supporter of the Nicaraguan Contras and has always fought for military aid for them.

Cheney's views on relations with the USSR are "similar to the cautious approach maintained by Bush," THE WASHINGTON POST points out. He has twice visited the Soviet Union—in 1983 and 1987—as a member of congressional delegations.

Cheney stressed in the Senate committee that he supported the conclusion of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and expressed his hope that further progress will be made in the arms control sphere. "In view of the current talks and the Soviet leadership's recent proposals concerning conventional arms, I think there is potential for concluding further agreements," he said.

In other answers, however, Cheney said he opposes a "hasty" reduction in American military might, despite the recent Soviet peace initiatives. "I do not think we have reached a stage in relations with the Soviet Union that enables us to save on resources," he maintained. "I think it would be an enormous mistake for us to now reduce our military possibilities and limit our defensive potential."

### Pentagon, Commerce at Odds Over FSX Warplane

*OW2003142389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] According to a TASS dispatch from Washington, sharp differences of opinion exist within the new Bush government over the question of Japan and the United States cooperating in development of the FSX support fighter.

An agreement on developing and producing Japan's next-generation support fighter based on the design of the U.S. F-16 fighter-bomber has been readied by the Pentagon and the National Security Council, but critics of the project, particularly the Department of Commerce, are insisting that giving Japan access to the vanguard of U.S. aviation technology will help Japan start a commercial aviation industry and eventually become a formidable rival to the U.S.

The Pentagon and the National Security Council, which are supporting the Japan-U.S. joint development, are countering the arguments by saying the project will actually open a way for Japan's technology to be introduced into the United States.

THE WASHINGTON POST, meanwhile, reports that there lurks behind the confrontations a more deep-rooted problem to the effect that the time may come when the United States must redirect some attention from national security to the protection of economic interests.

Within the Bush government there are now two squarely opposed views on all major aspects of foreign policy. Such projects as the FSX has previously been the preserve of the Pentagon, whose views were strictly based on military standpoints. But the new secretary of commerce, Mosbacher, clearly states that international trade is becoming a key to international politics. Many people in the United States are watching with great concern to see whose views—the Pentagon or the Commerce Department's—will win out.

## U.S. Fails To Push Change During Arens Visit

*PM2103121189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*17 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Article by political observer Konstantin Geyvandov under the "Events: Essence and Opinions" rubric: "First Meetings and Disappointments"]

[Text] Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has just made an official visit to Washington, during which he held talks with President George Bush and Secretary of States James Baker. It was practically the first high-level meeting between representatives of the two countries since the formation of their new administrations. However, that was not, of course, the basic cause of the interest shown in this event. What was the basic cause, then?

The answer is bound up with the expectations and hopes that have surfaced in recent months regarding the possibility of achieving a peaceful settlement of the chronic Near East conflict. If you look at the disposition of forces, you can say without fear of error that there is a prevailing worldwide consensus that such a chance does exist today. And it is quite a realistic chance. In fact, the only thing holding back the organizing of a peace process remains the Israeli Government's stance.

And since the U.S. Administration also formally advocates a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, people were counting on it using its influence to urge Israeli leaders to adopt a constructive stance in this matter. However, disappointment lay ahead for all those who hoped for such a development of events. After his talks with Bush and Baker, the Israeli foreign minister told journalists: "I was not asked to make any changes at all."

Secretary of State Baker, for his part, maintained that the American-Israeli talks were focused on a search for ways of advancing peace in the Near East and said in this regard that discussion was mainly about steps that could be taken to reduce tension in the occupied territories. In my view, this approach adopted by Washington gives the PLO leadership grounds for accusing the American Administration of being mainly concerned with helping the Israeli authorities repress the Palestinian uprising on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

Arens repeated yet again in his press statements the standard, old rejection of dialogue and insisted on direct talks with the Arabs, although it had always, I thought, been envisaged that this is precisely what the sides involved in the Near East conflict would do as part of the proposed peace conference. In short, the Israeli leaders are continuing to maneuver, seeking to maintain the status quo in the region at any price. And White House statements along the lines of "hasty interference in the region's affairs is undesirable" and "we are not in a special hurry" do not, of course, promote a change in such an approach either.

Of course, if you approach the problem from a narrowly self-interested standpoint, then there is not perhaps in actual fact any need for "a special hurry." But if you seek to restore justice to the people of Palestine and are concerned about world peace and security, it is not difficult to see that every day spent maintaining the status quo is fraught with the most serious dangers. Just take the continuing arms race in the Near and Middle East.

Surely the fact that the region occupies third place behind NATO and the Warsaw Pact in terms of volume of direct military spending should cause special alarm. In 1987 alone this amount totalled $59 billion. Some 25,000 tanks and 4,500 aircraft are deployed in combat formation, many people are in no doubt that there are both nuclear and chemical weapons in the region, and the appearance of intermediate-range missiles—that is, the very class now being destroyed in Europe—is already an accomplished fact. Some 5 million men, 7 million including reservists, are under arms in the Near and Middle East.

In short, a military potential has been created in the Near East that considerably exceeds its economic and demographic weight in the world. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the Soviet proposal to approach the process of a peaceful Near East settlement as a dual, parallel task, the solution of which will make it possible to scale down the arms race and eliminate the causes of the conflict situation. And here the fears voiced, if only by France's LE MONDE, regarding the proposal to synchronize the processes of disarmament in Europe and the settlement in the Near East are hardly justified. I am certain that, with the possible exception of arms traders (the region accounts for 61 percent of the worlds's arms exports), no one will lose by this.

It seems to me that more and more people in Israel itself are beginning to realize the extremely dangerous situation inherent in the prevailing realities of the region. The

growing number of Israelis advocating a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict may serve as an indicator of this. That authoritative Israeli institution—Tel Aviv University's Center for Strategic Studies—published a 235-page report the other day endorsing the idea of peace talks with the PLO and stating that the creation of a Palestinian state should not be ruled out.

It is interesting that even members of the Israeli parliament were far from clear-cut in their reaction to the conclusions and proposals contained in the report. Thus, M. Shahal, a Labor Party minister, said: "They came to a conclusion from which we cannot escape. The status quo is dangerous and harms Israel's fundamental interests."

And I would like to consider one more fact a sign of the times. The first conference organized jointly by Israelis and Palestinians has just been held in the United States, and this conference included Israeli parliamentary deputies and Palestinians. The conference brought agreement on a whole series of principles which, its organizers hope, will form the basis of an international settlement of the Near East conflict. The following principles from the conference are noteworthy:

A just and lasting peace must be established in the Near East that will ensure all the peoples, including the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, equal rights and opportunites;

The settlement should be based on an end to the Israeli occupation resulting from the 1967 war and be based on mutual recognition of equal national rights of self-determination and peaceful coexistence;

The settlement should incorporate the solution of all aspects of the problem of Palestinian refugees;

All disagreements should be resolved through talks between the legitimate representatives of the treaty parties, including the PLO on behalf of the Palestinians and the Israeli Government on behalf of the Israelis;

A moratorium on all terrorism should be declared to create favorable conditions for the successful advancement of the peace progress.

I think it fitting to list these principles because they do serve, in my opinion, as an example of the kind of constructive approaches to a Near East settlement that can be elaborated on the basis of common sense. And I would like those who have not yet managed to do so to face up to the realities a bit more quickly.

## U.S.' Afghan Diplomatic 'Maneuvers' Viewed

*PM2303122889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Washington Prepares To Break Off Relations"]

[Text] According to a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Bush administration is examining the question of breaking off diplomatic relations with the government of Afghanistan. At the same time, the possibility of appointing an American special representative to the government of the armed opposition is being discussed.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES points out, "these two complementary diplomatic acts will be a concrete show of support for the opposition, but will not constitute official recognition of the provisional government formed by the mujahidin in Pakistan."

The Bush administration, the newspaper reports, has decided not to officially recognize the opposition government-in-exile until it establishes firm control over Afghanistan's territory, creates an effective system of civil rule, and wins broad support among the population.

At the same time the armed opposition has not yet demonstrated the capacity to occupy any significant territory in Afghanistan. The rebels' assault on Jalalabad has been in progress for more than 2 weeks now, but the city still stands. As REUTER stresses, "the battle for the capital of Nangarhar Province is the first trial of strength between the Western-supported rebels and the Najibullah government after the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

A correspondent for London's SUNDAY TELEGRAPH who visited the combat zone near Jalalabad believes that "the mujahidin front line has many weak points; bold and resolute actions by government troops could push the opposition groupings back a long way."

The British journalist witnessed how Pakistan supplies weapons to opposition subunits. In particular, he saw two large transport columns carrying arms moving from the direction of the Pakistani border. The reporter observed a similar picture in Ghazni Province.

All the agencies report that a press conference was held in Kabul Sunday, and that at this press conference two Pakistani military intelligence agents arrested in Qandahar Province were presented to journalists (IZVESTIYA reported their arrest in issue No 78).

Muhammad Afzul [as transliterated], 25, and Muhammad Ashraf [as transliterated], 26, admitted that they were sent into Afghan territory purely on an espionage mission—to discover the locations of Afghan Army units, and also to recruit Afghan officers to work for Pakistani military intelligence.

A number of American newspapers have published items in recent days saying that the United States is trying to limit Pakistan's political influence among the rebels. "Some State Department representatives," THE WASHINGTON POST reports, "believe that the United States should step up control over the aid supply channels and demand that the Pakistani Interdepartmental Intelligence Agency (ISI) stop interfering in Afghan politics." "The ISI is helping G. Hikmatyar, but at the same time is helping to preserve disunity in the opposition ranks, in

order to maintain its own influence," THE WASHINGTON POST writes, citing an American diplomat, "and that increases the danger of civil war among the mujahidin themselves."

The appointment of a special U.S. representative to the armed opposition camp is aimed precisely at strengthening American control over the Afghan opposition. However, the White House's diplomatic maneuvers are once again coming up against tough opposition from the fundamentalist Hikmatyar, who Pakistani intelligence is backing. Speaking at a press conference in Islamabad on Sunday, he said that until the transitional mujahidin government is recognized by the United States, the Afghan opposition will not receive any American envoy.

### Soviet, U.S. Stands on Indian Ocean Differ

*LD2003192489 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Text] New York March 20 TASS—The question of convening an international conference is central to the problem of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. The Soviet Union declares for the holding of such a conference not later than in 1990 in accordance with a United Nations decision, says a reference document on the stand of various countries on this problem issued by the United Nations Secretariat on Monday.

For an earlier start of the process of the demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean, the USSR proposes that negotiations on a substantial reduction of the numerical strength and activity of naval forces be opened with the United States and other states that are not situated in the region and that have naval ships in the Indian Ocean on a permanent basis. The Soviet Union would not object in principle to the resumption of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean.

The United States has a different stand. Its document says that the notion that the withdrawal of naval forces of a great power from the Indian Ocean will in some way promote the consolidation of peace and stability is extremely erroneous. What is more, the United States is convinced that the presence of its naval forces helps consolidate security in the region.

### Zaykov Addresses Visiting U.S. Schoolchildren

*PM2203142589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 1*

[MOSTASS correspondent B. Shestakov report: "Carrying Trust on into the Next Century"]

[Text] On 13 March resonant children's voices animated the usually severe, businesslike atmosphere of the Moscow Gorispolkom. Some 124 schoolchildren from the United States came here accompanied by a group of their Soviet contemporaries. They are in the Soviet Union in accordance with the agreement between the USSR State Committee for National Education and the U.S. organization for study exchanges between senior grade schoolchildren.

The guests will spend several weeks in Moscow: They will live in Soviet families and attend classes in three of the capital's schools. They have an understandable interest in how the Land of the Soviets is living today and what problems are being resolved in our capital. This was the purpose of the meeting with L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

You will live in the 21st century and complete the edifice of trust and mutual understanding between the Soviet and U.S. peoples, whose foundation is now being laid, L.N. Zaykov stressed as he opened the meeting. He conveyed greetings and the warmest wishes to those present from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Our responsibility is great, for the future of the planet depends to a considerable degree on relations between our two peoples. We hope that similar exchanges will continue to be a good tradition and link the rising generation in the USSR and the United States with firm ties.

The meeting itself is a real achievement for the new thinking and popular democracy, which are confidently blazing a trail. Tell your friends and acquaintances that the Soviet people nurture feelings of sincere respect for Americans and are seeking to live with you in peace and concord.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom first secretary described the main avenues of the fundamental restructuring of Soviet society, including the reform of the political system, and Moscow's role in our country's life. He presented a gift to schoolboy Steve Eles [name as transliterated], who celebrates in the USSR what will perhaps be his most memorable birthday.

With the participation of V.V. Pozner, political observer of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, a relaxed conversation began in which dozens of the most diverse but invariably well-intentioned questions were put about Soviet people's life and affairs. The guests handed over for M.S. Gorbachev a memorial address as a token of gratitude for his active part in expanding Soviet-U.S. cultural exchanges.

...The cameras flashed—photographs and souvenirs as mementos. And the boys and girls who are to carry trust on into the next century smiled bright smiles.

Taking part in the meeting were G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for National Education; V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States; N.M. Andreyanova, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; S.A. Smirnov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; and B.M. Mikhaylov, chairman of the Moscow committee for national education.

## U.S. Psychiatrists Complete USSR Tour

*PM2103165589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 3*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Ask Questions": "Why Did Psychiatrists Come?"; first paragraph is reader's question]

[Text] "I recently heard Voice of America say that a delegation of U.S. scientists was to come to our country to inspect our psychiatric clinics. And it gave the telephone number of the U.S. Embassy, suggesting that all who have complaints against Soviet psychiatry and who wish to meet with U.S. physicians should ring it. It even gave the name of an employee at the U.S. mission in Moscow—Susan Wagner. Is this true?—S. Agayev, Moscow."

A delegation of 26 U.S. scientists really did visit our country at the beginning of March. They visited psychiatric clinics in Moscow, Leningrad, Vilnius, and certain other cities in our country. In all, the Americans screened 27 patients of their choice. At a news conference in Moscow, Robert Ferend [name as transliterated], delegation leader, declared that they had managed to gather a "tremendous amount of material" and that it would take 4-6 weeks to compile the final report. The delegation members will refrain from making any comments or assessments prior to the report's publication. Therefore, talk of the results of the trip will come later.

It is proposed that a return visit by Soviet medics to the United States will follow shortly.

As for the VOA broadcast, we decided that Susan Wagner herself would best be able to comment on it. So we telephoned her.

"The VOA broadcast came as a surprise to me," Susan replied. "The thing is that we have never asked the radio station to do anything like this. We contacted VOA after the broadcast and asked them to stop broadcasting the embassy telephone numbers and my name."

## Magadan Oblast Seeks Ties With Alaska

*PM2003101389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 First Edition p 5*

[Special Correspondent A. Bogomolov "Alaska Notebook": "Bering Bridge"]

[Excerpt] Moscow-Magadan-Anchorage-Moscow—[passage omitted] In the space of 1 and ½ weeks almost 100 people from the Soviet Union visited Alaska. The purpose of the visit was to establish direct contacts between Magadan Oblast and Alaska. Our party—Siberian schoolchildren, leaders of the oblast, diplomats, musicians, economists, and journalists—was warmly received by America's coldest state.

Scientists believe that about 30,000 years ago the so-called Bering Bridge linking North America and Siberia existed where the Bering Straits are now. Is it possible to build a political and economic Bering Bridge between today's Soviet Far East and U.S. Alaska?

When the Aeroflot plane carrying the delegation touched down at Anchorage 2 hours after takeoff, it might have seemed that at least the bridge's first support had been firmly established. This was the first Soviet civil aircraft since the war to cross the border between the two countries in the Bering Straits. To get from Magadan to Alaska, presently you must fly via Moscow, New York or Washington, in other words, you must travel virtually right around the world. Yet, there is Alaska right next door, just a stone's throw away. Furthermore, even to telephone your neighbors you must ring virtually right around the world.

The lure of the development of cooperation between the two regions is strong. Magadan is interested in selling its goods directly to Alaska and receiving in exchange the hard currency the kray needs so much. There is also potential for the creation of joint enterprises, for example, in the processing of reindeer products. Alaskans' experience in road building, urban development, and energy supply is useful for our north. Magadan is also of interest to Alaska, which is now experiencing an economic recession caused by a fall in world oil prices.

The main result of the present trip is that the sides have come to know one another better. The prospects have become clearer, the difficulties defined. The latter consist primarily for us in the lack of most-favored-nation status, as is known, in trade with the United States. Because of this, duties on Soviet goods sometimes soar to 90 percent of the item's cost, which, by the way, very nearly wrecked a Magadan goods fair in Anchorage. (But when the customs duty problems were satisfactorily resolved, in literally a few hours customers snapped up Siberian furs, Russian spoons, and even sets of postcards with views of Magadan). Second, the unconvertible ruble is a general problem in our trade and economic links with the West. And third, there is the economic similarity between Alaska and our northeast: preferential development of the extracting, mining, and timber industries.

But not everyone is so pessimistic. V.K. Lozovoy, representative of the Association for Business Cooperation With the Countries of Asia and the Pacific, believes that Alaska could become an intermediary in our trade with other countries in Asia and the Pacific. As for the customs snags, Lozovoy says that until we acquire the trade status we desire, they can be circumvented via

joint enterprises. Therefore, it is very important that the first contacts are made and that the neighbors get to know each other across the gulf.

The Americans gave our delegation a very warm reception. There are many reasons for that: The Americans' innate friendliness, their interest in everything new, the current popularity in the world of everything Soviet, and the memory of Alaska's Russian heritage. Whenever people learned that you were Russian you were immediately sought by a great many people and could count on a long conversation. But, of course, we were of particular interest to Russian Alaskans. This was an opportunity for them to use their native language and learn from someone new "how things are in Russia." [passage omitted]

## China

### Reportage on PRC National People's Congress

#### U.S. Senate Resolution Decried

*PM2203090189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 First Edition p 1*

[TASS report under the rubric "From Abroad": "Opposed to Interference"]

[Text] Beijing, 20 Mar—The PRC National People's Congress Foreign Affairs Committee has expressed extreme outrage and resolute protest in connection with the resolution on the Tibetan issue adopted by the U.S. Senate 16 March.

The committee's statement, disseminated by XINHUA, emphasizes that the U.S. Senate resolution distorts the history and present realities of China's Autonomous Region of Tibet and slanderously accuses the PRC Government of repressions and human rights violations in Tibet, blatantly supporting the violent actions of a handful of separatists and demanding that the U.S. Administration and international organizations interfere in Tibetan affairs.

The recent events in Lhasa, the document points out, were inspired by violent, separatist actions designed to split China and have nothing to do with ethnic or religious issues and certainly not with human rights issues. Acting under the slogan "Independence for Tibet," the separatists—who were by no means "peaceful demonstrators"—staged pogroms and arson attacks and even opened fire on members of the People's Armed Police carrying out their official duties.

The PRC Government has taken the necessary measures to ensure national unity, social stability, and the safety of citizens and their property. As a result of the introduction of martial law in Lhasa, the situation there has quickly stabilized, which is welcomed by the local inhabitants. It should be emphasized that the separatist actions launched by a handful of people on the pretext of defending human rights were an attempt to enlist sympathy and support outside the country in order to restore feudal slavery in Tibet.

#### Finance Minister Reports on Budget

*LD2103222789 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Beijing March 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Marat Abulkhatin: The fulfillment of the state budget of the People's Republic of China for 1988 can be named more or less satisfactory, Wang Bingqian, Chinese minister of finance, said addressing a session of the National People's Congress here.

According to tentative estimates, the state budget deficit ran at 8.049 billion yuan in 1988. The main problems in last year's economic life were marked inflation and an excessive price hike, which were sparked by overheating of the economy and high demand. The State Council adopted several measures to improve the economic position and establish economic order. Local people's governments and respective departments have carried out a large amount of work to curtail demand, regulate the economic structure, find financing sources, increase incomes, limit spending, update management, etc. On the whole, this has brought about not bad results.

Touching on the 1989 state budget, the Chinese finance minister stated that the total sum of budget revenue was planned at 285.68 billion yuan and spending—at 293.08 billion yuan. The deficit should amount to 7.4 billion yuan. The following spending is envisaged for the main items: defence—24.55 billion yuan, culture, education, science and public health—51.388 billion yuan, capital construction—62.792 billion yuan.

Wang Bingqian admitted that the fulfillment of the 1989 budget will face many problems and difficulties.

### PRC-Thai Talks, Proposals on Cambodia Viewed

*OW2203104489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Fedorov commentary]

[Text] Listeners and friends: After recent talks held between China and Thailand, people are becoming more interested in the Cambodian issue. During his visit to China, Thai Prime Minister Chunhawan discussed in detail the situation in Cambodia. Station commentator Fedorov writes in this respect:

Chunhawan and Chinese leaders made three major proposals on solving the Cambodian issue. I think the three major proposals closely conform to the program of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Without a doubt, China and Thailand are of one accord on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia. Phnom Penh and Hanoi have already

decided that Vietnamese forces will complete the withdrawal from Cambodia no later than this September. Of course, it is assumed that a political solution will have been achieved by that time. The Vietnamese Government [words indistinct] an enduring peace will prevail on the land of Cambodia after it withdraws its troops from Cambodia. The outcome of this matter rests with efforts by Cambodian opposition factions. However, as of now, Cambodian opposition factions have not taken any responsive action. Shouldn't their allies exert influence on them?

I think no one will oppose the second condition negotiated at Chunhawan's talks in Beijing. Here I refer to the formation of a coalition government in Cambodia. Phnom Penh does not intend at all to solely and completely control the state power, and is willing to share power with all patriotic forces, including the three opposition groups, should they be willing to cooperate and help to resume peace. The third point in the Sino-Thai communique is the reduction of foreign military aid to warring factions in Cambodia. To speak frankly, Phnom Penh has from the very start resolutely put this matter on the table. It suggests the complete cessation of such aid after the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and Vietnam both have this wish. However, the Khmer Rouge clique does not. According to the logic of the Pol Pot clique, if they get no foreign military aid, they will lose the final chance to openly take part in efforts to solve the Cambodian issue. However, in my opinion, without using force and in the political arena, the present leaders of the Khmer Rouge—of course not Pol Pot and his ilk—certainly can make their share of contributions to the solution of the Cambodian conflict if they nurture such a wish.

### PRC May Cut Philippine Ties Over Taiwan Issue

*OW2203004189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[From the "World Today" program; Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] A spokesman for the Chinese Embassy in the Philippines has warned that China might sever diplomatic ties with the Philippines. He said this might happen if the Philippine National Assembly passes a draft bill granting Taiwan most-favored-nation status. The Chinese spokesman stressed that this bill contradicts the one-China principle. In their 1975 accord on establishing diplomatic relations, Manila and Beijing guaranteed the fulfillment of this principle. In this connection, station observer Alekseyev writes:

It is true that this issue has been clearly elaborated in the accord signed in 1975. The Philippines officially acknowledged then that Taiwan was an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, in accordance with this document, the decision that Manila is ready to adopt should in no way be approved behind the Chinese Government's back. If Philippine lawmakers intend to follow the example of the United States, they might not obtain the same results.

Time has shown that Washington simply does not attach great importance to the official U.S.-Chinese accord. Let us cite some facts:

Everyone knows that the United States and China established diplomatic relations on 1 January 1979. Acknowledging China's sovereignty over Taiwan at that time, Washington severed diplomatic ties with Taiwan. However, it was only a gesture. Although the signboard has changed, the actual state of affairs has not changed in the least. Despite China's protests, Washington continues to maintain ties with Taiwan as if nothing ever happened. The United States continues to sell modern weapons to Taiwan. In the Shanghai Communique signed in 1981, the United States promised to reduce its military assistance to Taiwan. What is the actual situation today? The actual situation is that the United States has increased, not decreased, its military assistance to Taiwan. Let us remind you that today Taiwan's Armed Forces can not only acquire weapons from U.S. arsenals, but also from subsidiaries of transnational companies of the U.S. military industry.

It is apparent that the establishment of good relations with China today is important for ensuring global stability as well as stability in the Asia-Pacific countries. Judging by the media in the Philippines, Manila is clearly aware of this. I hope the Philippines will not take any action that will undermine its relations with China and the peaceful cause in Asia.

## Northeast Asia

### USSR-Japan Foreign Ministry Talks Reported

#### Characterized as 'Businesslike'

*OW2203080989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Station correspondent Potapov report]

[Text] The second and last day of talks in the Soviet-Japanese deputy foreign minister-level consultations were held in Tokyo on 20 March. In this connection, Moscow Radio correspondent Potapov reports as follows:

As on the previous day, the two sides had closed-door talks. Two sessions were held on 20 March. According to Soviet diplomatic sources, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, including various regional problems, was widely discussed at the first session. The Soviet delegation concentrated efforts on finding common views on easing tension and lowering the level of military confrontation in this region.

At the consultations, emphasis was placed on the significance of the Soviet proposals made in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk reflecting the Soviet views on the way of securing peace in Asia. The two proposals drew the world's attention to the concrete Soviet measures such as Soviet military withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Soviet plan to pull out troops from Mongolia in the near future, and the reduction of SS-20 missiles from the Asian region in particular.

The Japanese side welcomed the improvement of the situation in the Asian region and agreed that it was indispensable to making joint efforts for the establishment of a sound situation in the entire Pacific region.

As a result of the exchanges of views between the two sides, common views were found in the Soviet and Japanese approach to the establishment of peace and security in Asia. According to diplomatic sources, however, some differences were noted in their approach and assessment regarding the current Asian situation. Moreover, the Soviet side indicated its dissatisfaction over the attempt to justify moves to increase military tension in Asia on the pretext of a nonexisting Soviet threat.

The Japanese side showed interest in the process of normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and China. In addition, the two sides expressed their respective views on the adjustment of positions regarding the Cambodian issue. Opinions were also exchanged on carrying out smooth economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. In this regard, the Soviet side expressed its desire to promote cooperative relations in the Asia-Pacific region, taking into account the reform of the economic structure in the Soviet Far East.

The Korean issue was also discussed at the consultations. The Soviet side stressed the importance of easing the military and political confrontation on the Korean peninsula. The Soviet side pointed out the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the DPRK and said the Soviet Union supports the recent initiatives of the DPRK.

Then, the discussions focused on bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. The two sides welcomed the significant improvement in the bilateral political dialogue and expressed hope for further improvement. In addition to reaching a principled agreement on realizing a Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to Japan within this year, both sides agreed to prepare for a direct dialogue between the CPSU and the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party. Discussions were also held on the CPSU general secretary's expected visit to Japan. According to diplomatic sources, the Soviet side agreed to make necessary preparations for the Soviet leader's visit and pointed out that the earlier both sides start preparations, the sooner the visit will be realized. It also pointed out that it is important to attach no preconditions to the visit.

The consultations were held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. Deputy Vice Minister Kuriyama, head of the Japanese side, accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union to attend regular consultations next year, 1990.

## Japan Focuses on N. Territories

*LD2103232189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Mar (TASS)—Today a meeting of the permanent working group on a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan—the accord on the creation of which was reached during the visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR foreign minister, to Japan in December last year—was held in Tokyo.

Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister, headed the Soviet delegation at the meeting. Takakazu Kuriyama, deputy foreign minister, headed the Japanese delegation.

The Soviet side explained its conception of a peace treaty and gave detailed explanations on all issues that could constitute its content.

The Japanese delegation limited itself to an exposition of its views on the so-called territorial issue. At the same time, it was declared that the Japanese side would study carefully what had been said by the Soviet representative and would state its position during the course of the next meeting of the working group.

## Japan Foreign Minister Views Talks

*LD2203113489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0532 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Tokyo, 22 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov reports:

The beginning of work by the permanently operating working group on a peace treaty between Japan and the USSR is a new step in relations between the two countries. This was state by Sosuke Uno, the country's foreign minister.

Speaking Wednesday at a press conference following a routine session of the Cabinet of Ministers, he expressed satisfaction at the Soviet-Japanese talks held in Tokyo on Tuesday and noted that the bilateral dialogue is developing positively.

The minister said he is "pleased at the character of the discussion, which passed in a frank [otkrovennoy] atmosphere."

### U.S. Plans To Transfer Forces to Japan Decried

*PM2103165389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7*

[Igor Latyshev dispatch: "In Japan, If Not in the Philippines"]

[Text] Tokyo, 16 Mar—Japan's peace-loving circles are alarmed. The reason for their alarm is the news about Pentagon plans to further expand the U.S. military presence in the Japanese islands, where over 50,000 U.S. officers and men are currently stationed.

This intention is linked with the change in the situation in the Philippines, where the government is pursuing a course of gradually removing U.S. military bases from its territory. Although the agreement signed by Manila and Washington last year permits U.S. Armed Forces to remain on Philippine soil for the next few years, Pentagon leaders are nonetheless having to think about where to transfer at least part of their military personnel and warplanes in the future. These are concentrated at the Clark Field base—the main U.S. military stronghold in the Philippines. Because the Pentagon strategists would prefer not to withdraw any of their armed forces from the Asia-Pacific region, their redeployment plans are increasingly focusing on Japan. Moreover, preparations for this redeployment are already in hand.

The Japanese press reports that at least one squadron of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers will be transferred from Clark Field (Philippines) to the Kadena Base (on the Japanese island of Okinawa) this fall. Moreover, a considerable number of C-130 military transports currently stationed at Clark Field will be transferred to the Yokota Base in Japan. A sizable contingent of U.S. servicemen, including pilots and airfield service personnel, will be correspondingly transferred to Japan from the Philippines.

All these preparations are alarming the people of Okinawa, a considerable—and, moreover, the most easily habitable—part of which has been taken away from the local population and turned into no-trespassing areas used by U.S. military facilities.

The island's peace-loving public, the local press reports, consequently intends to resolutely oppose the U.S. military department's plans. The Pentagon's course of building up the U.S. military presence on the Japanese islands is leading to new conflict situations and becoming yet another reason for the growth in anti-U.S. and antiwar sentiments in both Okinawa and other parts of Japan.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Hope Seen for Cambodian Settlement

*OW2203045189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 12 Mar 89*

[From the "World Today" program; Shakhov commentary]

[Text] We have reported on Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's remarks that if the Cambodian problem can be solved politically, Vietnamese volunteer troops will withdraw from Cambodia by September this year, and that if a solution to the problem cannot be found, Vietnam will complete its troop withdrawal by the end of 1990. Nguyen Co Thach made the remarks in an interview with Australian television reporters. Station commentator Shakhov writes:

First of all, it should be pointed out that Vietnam began to withdraw its troops from Cambodia as early as 1982. Since then, it has withdrawn troops from Cambodia on seven occasions. In the second half of 1988 alone, half the Vietnamese troop contingent in Cambodia, stationed in the country to prevent the return of the bloody Pol Pot regime, withdrew from the country. Command of the Vietnamese troops remaining in Cambodia was also greatly changed. The remaining Vietnamese troops were put under the command of the Cambodian Ministry of Defense, and the headquarters of the Vietnamese troops in Cambodia returned to Vietnam. It was also decided then to station Vietnamese volunteer troops at least 30 km from the Cambodian-Thai borders.

All this shows that Vietnam and Cambodia earnestly hope to politically solve the Cambodian problem, to ease tensions among countries in Southeast Asia, and to create favorable conditions for promoting cooperation among various countries. Such cooperation will contribute to peace and security in the region.

As everyone knows, various positive measures have been taken in the last few months to seek ways to solve the Cambodian problem. The UN secretary general sent a representative to hold talks with leaders of the three opposition factions in Cambodia; the UN representative visited Cambodia, Hanoi, and Vientiane; the second unofficial meeting of representatives of the Indochinese nations, of member countries of ASEAN, and of the three opposition factions of Cambodia was held in the capital of Indonesia, at which basic principles for politically solving the Cambodian problem were laid; and Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach held bilateral talks with representatives of some ASEAN member countries and representatives of Australia. It has also been noted that the People's Republic of China might take a bigger role in the process of solving the Cambodian problem.

As everyone knows, Vietnamese-Chinese relations have improved. Vice foreign ministers of the two countries recently held their first meeting. Nguyen Co Thach has said that another meeting will be held in March. Undoubtedly, all these activities have made people optimistic. Everyone in Asia hopes that the Cambodian problem will be solved as soon as possible.

### Changes in Thai Indochina Policy Praised

*BK2203085689 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] A serious meeting between the Thai leadership and People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] Premier

Hun Sen took place in Bangkok recently despite opposition by certain sectors. According to an assessment, the meeting produced important results and provided an impetus for accelerated progress toward settlement of the Cambodian problem. Indonesian President Suharto even sent a telegram to Thai Prime Minister General Chatchai Chunhawan expressing his sincere support for the latter's efforts to push for a permanent, fair settlement of the Cambodian problem at the Jakarta informal meeting. President Suharto said the outcome of the meeting between Gen Chatchai and the leaders of the four Cambodian factions gave them good conditions to proceed to the Jakarta meeting in order to further discuss settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Our guess is that the people who criticized the Thai leader's initiative must have some reasons for wanting to delay the progress toward settlement of the Cambodian problem. Some circles clearly oppose the change in Thailand's policy of confrontation, as imposed by outside elements, to the policy of resolving disputes and developing stable relations with the neighboring countries. The policy is reflected in Gen Chatchai's slogan of transforming battlefields in Indochina into marketplaces.

To date, this new policy has generated some positive results. Thailand's relations with Laos have started to grow after a long period of lethargy and regular border disputes. In practical terms, the border disputes have been settled and economic, trade, and cultural cooperation between the two countries have begun to fall into place. The Thai-Lao contacts at the summit level have proceeded at a good pace. Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan recently paid a formal visit to Thailand.

Thai commentator Kawi Chongkittithawon wrote in THE NATION that Gen Chatchai was responsible for the change in Thailand's aggressive and antagonistic policy toward Indochina to one that is flexible and friendly.

The Thai policy toward Cambodia is more complex because the Thai administration does not officially recognize the PRK; but there has been noticeable progress after the meeting with Premier Hun Sen in Bangkok. Both sides agreed to develop normal trade and economic contacts, which leads to the hope that the situation along their common border will improve after resembling a battle front for a decade. There are comments to the effect that the direct contact with the Phnom Penh leadership is likened to a psychological offensive which has brightened the overall political atmosphere in the region.

At a recent speaking engagement in Kompong Som, Premier Hun Sen said the results of the attempt to develop more stable and expanded relations between Thailand and Cambodia and the Thai leadership's constructively flexible policy toward Cambodia have created a major factor which will generate progress in the negotiations for a resolution of the Cambodian problem. This shows that Gen Chatchai's initiative has brought credibility to his country, and Thailand's international role has carried more weight of late. Contrary to what many critics have said, the current Thai leadership has proved by its deeds, not by words, that it can carry out constructive actions along the new political line.

It must be added here that this type of action has received commendation from the opposition members of parliament who do not often praise the government. Bunchu Rotchanasathian, leader of the Solidarity Party, which is an influential opposition party, asked that the government continue to implement the new Indochinese policy for greater progress. He said: Previously we were hindered by the regulations which we created ourselves. We now have a better understanding of the world. The question is whether we are really serious about implementing the new policy.

At present there is no reason to doubt the seriousness of the leader of the Thai Government.

## Vietnam Official on Renewal Processes

*PM1703144089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Report on interview with Tran Trong Tan, head of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Propaganda and Training Department, by correspondent P. Tsvetov in the USSR: "Embracing All Spheres"; date not given]

[Text] A delegation of Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] officials headed by Tran Trong Tan, member of the CPV Central Committee and chief of the CPV Central Committee Propaganda and Training Department, was in our country. In a talk with PRAVDA's correspondent, Tran Trong Tan described some aspects of the CPV's ideological work at the present stage of renewal.

[Tran Trong Tan] The renewal processes that began with the sixth party congress decisions are all-embracing. In the economy, we are seeking to emancipate society's production forces and create a socialist, planned commodity economy, incorporating different systems—state, cooperative, private, family, and private capitalist, with the state retaining the leading role. Economic activity should be linked to the social sphere and oriented toward the attainment of social justice, first and foremost in the distribution of material goods.

In the political sphere renewal means the creation of a system guaranteeing working people the right to be the country's masters. Party leadership of literature and art needs renewal. In all spheres the main role is assigned to democratization. Figuratively speaking, it plays the part of the midwife of renewal in our country.

In just over 2 years certain positive results have been achieved in the economy, foreign policy, and other spheres. The expansion of democracy and glasnost is evident.

However, Comrade Tan continued, there are problems too. Inflation remains a serious problem in daily life. There are alarming elements in the public consciousness: Some people enjoy digging up errors, some people basically extol capitalism and cast aspersions on the socialist system, and many people have an incorrect understanding of the causes of the existing difficulties. Last November the CPV Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision on certain topical questions of ideological work. It sets the task, in particular, of struggling against these negative phenomena.

In conclusion the interviewee expressed confidence that the CPV will overcome the difficulties. The guarantee of this is the leadership's rich experience of ideological processes at crucial moments in the revolutionary movement.

**Philippine Party Demands End to U.S. Bases**
*LD2003111589 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Text] Manila March 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Almazov:

The congress of the PDP-Laban party bloc, which ended here this Sunday, passed a resolution to liquidate U.S. war bases in the Philippines after 1991. Five thousand congress delegates spent two days discussing the programme of the PDP-Laban bloc, the country's most influential coalition.

The resolution on foreign military presence says that the PDP-Laban bloc comes out for the liqudation of U.S. war bases after 1991 in keeping with the Constitution, which makes it binding on the Philippines to pursue an anti-nuclear policy.

The U.S. military bases are in the archipelago under the bilateral agreement, which expires in November 1991. Their further presence in Filipino territory depends on the government's decision and requires approval of the parliament's upper chamber. The Corazon Aquino government has so far avoided any concrete statements on this score, reserving itself the right of option.

**Commentator Views Philippine Debt Situation**
*HK2103063789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Commentary by Vladimir Leshkov]

[Text] At first glance, an approval by the International Monetary Fund to grant the Philippines a loan worth $1.3 billion seems like a success for the Philippines. However, the question is: Is this a long-term success?

It is universally known that loans extended by developed countries in the West are, as a matter of policy, used to pay off earlier debts. World debts now stand at $1.3 trillion. The Philippines has foreign debts amounting to $29 billion and is fast becoming the most heavily indebted country in Asia.

Experts believe the present economic situation in the Philippines does not give the authorities any reason to believe that they can pay off or cut down foreign debts. On the contrary, and as pointed by Solita Monsod, director general of the National Economic and Development Authority, the country's foreign debt is expected to rise to $34 billion by the year 1992.

What is the implication for the Philippine economy? The secretary of finance announced that the Philippines will be affected by capital shortage in the next 5 years; more specifically, a shortage of $8 billion. At present, 20 percent of the country's national budget goes to debt servicing, an allocation higher than those for education and defense. In effect, foreign debt servicing takes up one-third of the country's export earnings. According to an estimation by the news agency UPI, half of every dollar collected as tax revenue in the Philippines is used to service foreign debts and interest payments.

One-third of the Philippines' loans come from the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions which stipulate strict conditions before credit is extended. The conditions include lower wages and currency devaluation. The recent turmoil in Venezuela is an indication of what happens in a country that decides to abide by the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund. Pressed by the IMF, Venezuela decided to raise the prices of commodities, which led to mass protests that spread rapidly throughout the country. The government was forced to declare a state of emergency and turn to the military for assistance.

Meanwhile the American magazine TIME reported that by laying down stringent conditions, the IMF was able to obtain $5 billion from developing countries in 1988. The amount was higher than the loans extended to these countries.

The heavy indebtedness of the Philippines and other developing countries poses enormous dangers to them. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, a French journal, warned that foreign debts could lead to economic deterioration as well as the loss of economic freedom by debtor countries. It further pointed out that with the loss of economic sovereignty, the countries face the prospect of, initially, restrictions on their political independence, and eventually, outright deprivation of such freedom.

According to the journal, this is not an official surrender as in the case of a military campaign, but a gradual submission of the principal rights and freedoms of the people of debtor states to major centers of power. Attempts have been made to take advantage of the

Philippines' foreign debts in order to obtain political ends. This involves the maintenance of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. Many Filipinos have pinned their hopes on the so-called mini-Marshall Plan, whereby some Western countries are expected to extend to the Philippines $10 billion in grants. The United States, which initiated this plan, is linking the plan to the retention of its military bases in the Philippines. An additional move, which may be regarded as outright political pressure on the Philippines, is a proposal for U.S. and Japanese banks to extend debt relief measures to the Philippines on condition that the Aquino government allows the retention of U.S. bases in the country after 1991.

The only way out of the predicament may be found not in the reduction of interest payments or in the sell-out of national independence and sovereignty, but in the establishment of a new and just international economic order. Such a new order could prevent the dictating of economic policies and the imposition of harsh debt conditions or debt servicing which bleeds the economies of developing countries dry. The new order calls for the write-off of some of the debts of developing countries, with the remaining obligations to be paid according to the economic conditions of the debtor states. This proposal was outlined by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev before the UN General Assembly in December last year. The Soviet Union continues to maintain this position.

## UN Decision on Burma, Western Reaction Viewed

*BK2103134589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Yevgeniy Mikhaylov commentary]

[Text] At a recent regular news conference in Rangoon, the spokesman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council hailed the UN Human Rights Commission's decision with respect to human rights in Burma. On this, Radio Moscow observer Yevgeniy Mikhaylov makes the following observation.

The Rangoon government has welcomed the decision of the UN Human Rights Commission because it is well considered and seemingly constructive. However, the decision includes a request to the Burmese authorities that they guarantee basic human rights, including free speech and free assembly. On the other hand, the UN commission welcomed the promise made by the Burmese Government to hold free multiparty general elections, and the decision calls for full facts and information in this connection through the Burmese Representative Mission at the United Nations.

When the decision was voted on, the United States and Western countries attempted to include phrases denouncing the actions of the Burmese Government. However, their attempt was not successful because of the defense by several Asian representatives. Therefore, it can now be said that the Western countries' attempts to blacken the Burmese Government as the one which suppressed the democratic movement in Burma have failed.

Since 18 September, we have witnessed many responsible actions by the General Saw Maung government in line with its promise to make arrangements for democratic changes. Within the prescribed time frame, 233 political parties have been registered and are actively preparing for elections. The government and the elections commission have presented the draft elections law to the public for discussion. As there have been no strong criticisms against the draft law, it can be said that the opposition has accepted it constructively.

It is also noteworthy that the Burmese Government spokesman at the last news conference stated that limitations on free speech and assembly will gradually be eased as conditions in the country improve. Since the elections are still one year away, there are reasons to believe that the elections will be held without emergency powers in effect.

It is still early to say that all political problems in Burma have been solved. However, they are being solved. It cannot be forgotten that Burma's economic conditions were none too good. As can be gathered from statements by the Western spokesmen, the Burmese people have to prepare for their elections under and economic boycott imposed by countries which had been helping them.

It is not necessary to overestimate the impact of such a boycott on Burma's political affairs. Present-day Burma's situation is not the same as that of last year.

Moscow Radio observer Yevgeniy Mikhaylov concludes by saying that countries which believe constructive cooperation with Burma will hasten democratic reforms for the people in the country have a more constructive stand than those which impose economic boycotts and make accusations against the country.

## ASEAN Countries Normalizing Ties With PRC

*PM2003140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent Valerian Skvortsov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Chain Reaction. PRC Normalizing Relations With ASEAN Countries"]

[Text] Bangkok, 16 Mar—A statement has been released in Singapore which has produced an extensive response in Southeast Asia. Lee Kuan Yew, prime minister of this island republic, has advocated the establishment of diplomatic relations with China.

An official Singapore Government spokesman informed journalists that a corresponding step will follow the completion of the process just started of normalizing Indonesia-PRC relations, which were broken off approximately 22 years ago.

The chain reaction of good intentions was prompted by the decision by the two major Asian countries to restore diplomatic relations—a decision reached at the end of last month at the Tokyo meeting between President Suharto and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. Their stay in Japan coincided for protocol reasons, but the contents of the almost 2-hour talks between them were by no means an exclusively protocol affair. The meeting reaffirmed the Indonesian and PRC desire to immediately begin jointly building bilateral relations on the basis of the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence. It was also decided that the heads of state would exchange visits in the future.

The Singapore Government statement followed soon afterward. Certain highly experienced diplomatic observers in the Southeast Asian countries are now suggesting that this is possibly a prelude to movement in relations between the PRC and another ASEAN member—Brunei. Of course, this process will take time and will probably be quite protracted. But the very trend toward normal, generally accepted, and civilized mutual ties with this great Asian power cannot fail to have a favorable impact on shaping a climate of trust in the region.

The incipient process of the normalization of the PRC's relations with the ASEAN countries, which have no diplomatic representatives in Beijing, cannot be seen in isolation from the overall changes in Southeast Asia borne here, as the Bangkok newspaper THE NATION wrote, on a spirit of new political thinking from the time of the Soviet leader's famous Vladivostok speech. The dialogue concerning a settlement in Cambodia, the normalization of the PRC's relations with Laos, and Vietnamese-Chinese contacts are also part and parcel of a future mosaic of multifaceted and extensive cooperation in the region taking account of mutual interests. Approaching relations with the PRC from precisely this perspective, Indonesia and Singapore, which has expressed its intention to follow its example, are justified in hoping for a further widening of their political horizons and a stepping up of their own role in the Asia-Pacific basin as well as in the Nonaligned Movement.

It may sound politically cliched to repeat the axiom that the modern world is indivisible and interdependent, but a great deal remains to be done before this becomes reality.

### Increased Flights to Singapore To Further Ties

*OW1903142489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2220 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Viktor Konnov report]

[Text] For 20 years Aeroflot liners have been making regular flights to Singapore, one of the main transport centers of Southeast Asia. A few days ago, talks on questions of further developing cooperation in aviation between an Aeroflot delegation and Singapore Air Lines, the national air company, were completed. A memorandum was signed on the results of the talks.

Plans envisage an increase in frequency of Aeroflot flights to Singapore to four flights a week and the establishment of cargo flights between the two countries. In addition, in view of plans to step up the Soviet Far East's foreign economic relations, the possibility is being considered of establishing regular flights between Singapore on the one hand and Khabarovsk and Vladivostok cities on the other.

Until now, Vladivostok and Singapore business partners have had to make enormous detours via Moscow to meet each other. Now, with these new Aeroflot flights, the distance will be reduced considerably. This means that meetings between business circles of the two countries will become more frequent.

## Near East & South Asia

### Afghan Rebels Reportedly Execute 3 Saudi Advisers

*LD2203155189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1512 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Kabul, 22 Mar (TASS)—As reported by the BAKHTAR agency, a bloody incident took place on 15 March in the region of the Ghaziabad agricultural farm in Nangarhar province, which testifies to the savage mores that reign among the mujahidin and their foreign accomplices. On the order of Saudi instructors, 25 rebels wounded during the offensive on the town of Jalalabad were killed there. This act aroused indignation among the mujahidin. One of the leaders of the antigovernment formations, a certain Haji Sharif, [name as received] personally shot three instuctors from Saudi Arabia who took part in the massacre.

According to the agency report, the demoralization of opposition formations has reached such a degree that already hundreds of fighters from groups within the "Alliance of Seven" are refusing to take part in combat operations and deserting the battlefield.

### U.S., Pakistan Reminded of Geneva Agreements

*PM2103135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Yuriy Glukhov article under the rubric "View From Moscow": "Afghan Guidelines"]

[Text] Afghan events are again swamping newspaper pages. The bloody haze of the continuing war has clouded the horizons of the settlement, horizons that had almost begun to clear. The diehard opposition has launched heavy fighting around Jalalabad. The so-called "transitional government" cobbled together by the "Peshawar Seven" is claiming recognition.

Outside forces continue to be drawn into the dangerous maelstrom of events. The United States has announced new military shipments to the mujahidin. According to numerous testimonies, Pakistani troops have made an incursion into Afghanistan to support the Afghan extremists. Saudi Arabia has announced recognition of the "transitional government," in addition to the considerable financial support it gives to A.R. Sayyaf's grouping. The Islamic Conference Organization has also made overtures to the mujahidin, offering them Afghanistan's place in the organization.

Outside interference is increasingly heating up the situation in Afghanistan. The explosiveness of the Afghan conflict is large enough as it is. This state of affairs has accumulated over the years. Obviously, rather than adding more powder, people should clear the minefields of hostility and contradictions. In this connection, the stance adopted by the United States and Pakistan is particularly unsavory. They are behaving as if they are opening up a front against Afghanistan; as if Geneva never happened and the pledges they adopted do not exist; as if there have been no qualitative changes in the development of the Afghan conflict.

However, a new period began with the signing of the Geneva agreements, a period of peaceful settlement of the crisis around and within Afghanistan. I stress this new quality—"peaceful settlement"—since it means using political rather than military means to resolve the conflict.

I will not put forward unsubstantiated claims. In the wake of the signing of the Geneva agreements there was a real prospect for military detente. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan by agreement with the Afghan side contributed to this. At the same time the Kabul government stated its readiness to cooperate with opposition forces in seeking national reconciliation.

Add to this the plan elaborated under UN auspices for the country's economic rehabilitation. Some $900 million in aid has already been collected for Afghanistan within the framework of this program. The Soviet Union has contributed more than $600 million of this. Western states have not proved particularly generous. Approximately $27 million has come from the FRG and $15 million from France. The United States has not loosened its purse strings at all, although it is throwing away $300 million a year on arms shipments and subversive operations in Afghanistan.

But the main result of Geneva is not only the fact that it gave a boost to a peace process that has spread to other regional conflicts. The Geneva agreements are a code, a kind of code of honor determining the behavior of the signatory states toward one another, the conflict, and the world community. It is quite obvious that they should not behave in the same way after Geneva as before.

It is embarrassing to remind senior state officials in Islamabad and Washington of this, but pledges are pledges. Let me cite some of them from the bilateral Afghan-Pakistani agreement:

To refrain from armed intervention, subversive actions, military occupation, or any other form of intervention and interference—overt or covert—against another contracting party or from any act of military, political, or economic interference in its internal affairs;

To refrain from aiding, abetting, or supporting direct or indirect insurgent or separatist activity on any pretext whatever and from any other action designed to undermine or overthrow the political order of another side;

To prohibit on its territory the training, equipping, financing, and recruiting of mercenaries, whatever their origin, with a view to carrying out hostile actions against the other side, or the infiltration of such mercenaries and, accordingly, to deny assistance, including financing the training, equipment, and transit of these mercenaries.

To prohibit any assistance to, use of, or tolerance toward terrorist groups, saboteurs, and subversive agents operating against the other side.

As is well known, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Declaration on International Guarantees. This declaration says, in particular, that the sides pledge to strictly refrain from interference and intervention in any form in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan and respect the pledges in the Afghan-Pakistan bilateral agreement. They insistently urge all states to do likewise.

Those are the criteria that can clearly determine events and the true role of the participants in them. Compare the Geneva agreements and the conduct of the United States and Pakistan, and no propaganda tricks will be able to whitewash these actions, still less the ploy of disputing the legitimacy of Afghanistan's current government and regime or engaging in blackmail with the intention of severing diplomatic relations with it and accrediting "ambassadors" to the diehard camp. THE NEW YORK TIMES has just disclosed information on this.

Indeed it is embarrassing to hear these statements in Washington, for the United States is a guarantor of accords secured with a specific party—the Kabul government. The signature of this government's official representative is affixed to the Geneva agreements and is authenticated by the signature of the U.S. secretary of state. The same applies to Pakistan.

A sense of awkwardness arises when the United States reneges even on its own proposals regarding detente around Afghanistan. I am talking about the so-called

"positive symmetry" and renunciation of arms shipments to the conflicting Afghan sides. The Soviet Union expressed readiness to take such steps but, alas, met with no reciprocity.

Everything indicates that some people have seen the departure of the Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan as creating a kind of vacuum rather than as a gesture of goodwill. But there is no vacuum. There is a republican national patriotic regime capable of standing up for itself. This is illustrated by the bitter experience of the mujahidin who died outside Jalalabad.

What may result from the deviation from the Geneva agreements and the gamble on military actions and the "Peshawar Seven"?

It is quite clear that the "transitional government" is not representative. It has no constructive program that would suit all the forces in the Afghan political spectrum. It is rent by contradictions. Even individual opposition groupings like, for instance, the "Eight" Shiite organizations in Tehran or the "field commanders" oppose it.

What can be the purpose of counting on village chieftains? Only to smash the country and split it into pieces. U.S.-Pakistani interference in Afghan affairs has already given rise to very dangerous trends. One is the transformation of the Pakistani incursion into an Afghan-Pakistani war. It seems that, by becoming involved in the venture, the uncontrolled Pakistani military would like to resolve Pakistan's age-old border dispute with Afghanistan over the Pushtun regions and at the same time topple B. Bhutto's civilian government. Destabilization of the Afghan situation will lead to destabilization of the situation throughout the region and provokes legitimate alarm, for instance in India.

The violations of the Geneva accords poison the political climate throughout the world. They cast a shadow over the prospects of settling other regional conflicts. Equally seriously, perhaps, they undermine the most important element of any accords—trust.

## U.S., Pakistan Blamed for Afghan Situation

*BK2203133689 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1100 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Over 1 month has elapsed since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but the situation in that country is becoming increasingly tense. A fierce battle is raging in the south and east of Afghanistan. The situation in other provinces is also not peaceful. Who is responsible for further aggravating the Afghanistan situation? Our commentator Yuriy Solton writes:

The war against the Kabul regime is being waged by the opposition, which has set up its so-called interim government on Pakistani soil. The opposition leaders draft Afghan refugees into the Army and then send them to Afghanistan from Pakistan so they can sacrifice their lives to fulfill the opposition's dream of capturing power in Afghanistan. But, are the opposition leaders alone responsible for this fratricidal war in Afghanistan? No, it would not be right to say so.

Incidents prove that the opposition is becoming a tool in the hands of those foreign powers that have made hostile plans against Afghanistan. Some people think that the Soviet troops' withdrawal has created a vacuum in Afghanistan that needs to be filled.

We firmly believe that an international conspiracy is being carried out against the Republic of Afghanistan, which is evidenced from certain facts. In the south and east of Afghanistan, the Pakistani military intelligence agency is commanding the rebels' operations. Three thousand non-Afghan Muslims are fighting alongside the opposition, which also includes regular troops of the Pakistani Army. Is this not blatant aggression? It is being openly said in Islamabad that the action is designed to take Afghanistan under a kind of trusteeship.

Please look at the U.S. policy also, of signing the Geneva accords with the representative of the present Kabul government. A draft of the decision to sever diplomatic relations with the Republic of Afghanistan and to send a special U.S. envoy to the Afghan rebels' camp is lying on the desk of the U.S. secretary of state. We think that this step is intended not only to give an official hue to Washington's old ties with the rebels, but also to collect its share of the booty in the event of the rebels' success.

Some comments on the recent Riyadh meetings of the leaders and foreign ministers of the member-countries of the Islamic Conference Organization will also be appropriate here. It was certainly under the pressure of Saudi Arabia—which is providing massive assistance to the Afghan opposition—that the foreign ministers decided to grant a seat to the opposition forces in this organization. Even though the resolution on this issue appears to be ambiguous, it did actually appeal to the Islamic countries to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Therefore, as we see, an international color is being given to the Afghan conflict, which, it is feared, may further complicate the situation in Southwest Asia. So far it is only a fear, but if decisive steps are not taken to stop all sorts of external interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, the danger may take a concrete shape.

## Gen Gromov Views Developments in Afghanistan

*LD2103154189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1511 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar (TASS)—Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, the 45-year-old army commander who was the last to leave the territory of Afghanistan about 1

month ago, thereby completing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country, has been appointed commander of the Kiev Red Banner Military District, IZVESTIYA reported today.

In the course of being interviewed by the paper's correspondent, Boris Gromov, touching upon the situation in Afghanistan, stressed that the Geneva agreements have thus far only been met by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, while Pakistan and the United States have, by providing great assistance to the insurgents, violated the duties they assumed. It is hard to say how the situation will develop. However, the month that has passed since the withdrawal of Soviet troops has also shown that our allies can hold their positions independently, he noted.

Boris Gromov expressed his approval of the current policies being implemented, not only in the USSR but in a number of other socialist countries as well, aimed at cutting the armed forces and military budgets. He indicated at the same time that the numbers and composition of the army should be such that it would be able to repel any potential opponent in the initial and most difficult period of any possible military action.

In connection with B. Gromov's nomination by the working collectives of Prilukskiy Rayon in Chernigov Oblast as a candidate USSR people's deputy, he noted in particular that proposals relating primarily to the defense capacity and protection of the motherland are the basis of his platform.

## U.S. Stinger Missiles in 'Fanatics" Hands

*PM2203095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "About Stingers and Extremist Fanatics"]

[Text] Even after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, Washington announced that it would continue military deliveries to the forces of the armed opposition in Afghanistan. These deliveries include certain types of the most modern weapons—for instance, Stinger surface-to-air missiles. The CIA and the Pentagon, in charge of these deliveries, had devised—or so people in these departments thought—strict procedures to ensure that these missiles would not fall into "undesirable hands." One missile per launcher was supplied. The next missile was delivered only after the launcher had been returned for inspection to people acting as controllers.

Washington did not conceal its alarm when, at the height of the Iran-Iraq conflict, there were reports that, inexplicably, Stingers had been sighted in some Persian Gulf countries. However, U.S. deliveries of the missiles to the Afghan opposition forces were not suspended.

The Stingers are designed to down helicopters and aircraft flying at relatively low altitudes. This weapon is rather ineffective against most modern air forces. Its targets are aircraft used mainly in civil aviation.

If one is to believe what the U.S. press is currently writing, the CIA is taking steps to retrieve the Stingers still in Afghanistan to prevent them from falling into terrorist hands.

Is this perhaps because, for humanitarian reasons, people in Washington official institutions have now decided to end the encouragement of terrorism? So far one thing is certain: doubts are growing among influential political circles in the United States, including conservative organizations like the "Heritage Foundation," as to whether the United States should continue to arm the Afghan opposition. Thus a report published recently by the "Heritage Foundation" condemns the support given by official Washington to Hikmatyar, the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" extremist grouping within the ranks of the Afghan opposition. "The United States must not assist this anti-Western radical in his efforts to gain a dominant role," the report notes.

Material currently appearing in the world press indicates what it is about the position of these extremists that is evoking misgivings among Western circles that usually support the official line of their governments with respect to Afghanistan. London's THE INDEPENDENT wrote 22 February that "extreme Muslim fundamentalist organizations are filled with hatred of all Westerners—Christians and Communists alike." The newspaper makes the following remarkable admission. "Diplomats," it writes, "say that extremists are receiving what amounts to free terrorist training in Afghanistan and that some Muslim governments are worried that these skills could be used to destabilize the situation in their own countries."

This is an indication of the sort of gulf, not to say abyss, that can divide those who march under the banner of the same religion!

In Afghanistan's not-so-distant past there are many episodes that testify to the tense conflicts between those who wanted to lead the country out of the dark Middle Ages, and those who fiercely opposed these efforts. This is how Mikhail Koltsov saw Afghanistan in a state of acute conflict in 1930, when the reformer Padishah Amanollah was toppled by the reactionary Bach-e Saqao, who, in turn, had to give way to Nader Shah. Here is how the Soviet journalist described scenes from life in Kabul at that time: "No women can be seen in the narrow streets; only rarely an awful apparition shrouded in dark cloth slips soundlessly along the walls... Shot and powder fly through the air together with shreds of the torn body, while the head, shoulders, and arms rise vertically above the cannon and fall to the ground, to be eaten separately by dogs and birds" (description of an execution)...

Mikhail Koltsov ended his reportage as follows: "There is no peace, no calm in Afghanistan. It will come one day... But that day will not be soon. It will happen after great upheavals, after a struggle between the new and the old."

And now the present-day testimony of a conservative London newspaper, THE SUNDAY TIMES. In its 12 February edition it publishes a dispatch by its correspondent John Andersen from an area of Afghanistan captured by the opposition forces. The British journalist writes about people being stoned to death, people whose hands are chopped off for insubordination, for refusing to obey extremist fanatics to whom even listening to taped music is a "sin." The dispatch is published under the headline: "The Threat From the Fanatics Who Hate Music and Charity."

Education for girls, freedom of religion, people's access to the values of world culture—this and much else covered by the concept of "civilization" is rejected and branded under slogans of religious intolerance by extremists in the ranks of the opposition, which is armed with Stinger missiles and other accessories of the Transatlantic arsenal.

But where is the guarantee that the forces of this opposition, funded and armed by the CIA and the Pentagon, with their set of slogans expressing intolerance of civilized values, will necessarily do what their high-ranking patrons want them to? There is no such guarantee, nor can there be.

Reacting to the CIA's intention to retrieve the Stinger missiles, a representative of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" declared, according to a REUTER report, that the mujahidin are not prepared to give back the Stingers. "We need them more," he said, without giving further explanations. Frankly speaking, no explanations of why these extremists need the Stingers and other weapons from the Transatlantic "suppliers" are necessary. Eloquent reports of what the extremist fanatics are doing to the local population have appeared in the U.S. press. "Smashed doors, broken windows, and piles of garbage testify to the scale of pillage and looting that has almost destroyed the city": That is how U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT describes in its 27 February edition the scene in Kunar City when it was temporarily captured by the mujahidin.

The combination of obscurantism with modern weapons is a combination that frightens even a very respectable—from the viewpoint of Washington official circles—U.S. organization, as is evident from the report published by the "Heritage Foundation." It is true that terrorism cannot be perpetrated with bare hands.

The spectacle of fanatics chopping off hands as a punishment is not a figment of the imagination, nor are dynamite charges placed in mosques.

If the declarations about the supremacy of ethics and morality are not just verbal exercises in present-day Washington, then it is clearly necessary to apply these precepts not only inside the country, and in any case to refrain from supplying sophisticated weapons to those whom the United States itself is ready to categorize as "profane nations."

There is one more circumstance that cannot be ignored in connection with the Stinger episode. As THE NEW YORK TIMES noted a few days ago, in the course of his election campaign George Bush promised more than once to stop the global proliferation of missile and chemical weapons. However, the newspaper wrote, if the Afghan opposition groups that have been supplied with the Stingers start selling off their enormous stocks of these weapons, the U.S. Administration will be placed in an extremely awkward position.

And that is putting it rather mildly if you consider that certain groupings in the ranks of the Afghan opposition do not shrink from using these weapons against transport aircraft delivering food and other material aid to the extremely needy inhabitants of the capital and other cities and villages in the country. The aim is to starve the city into submission. And so the weapons supplied to Afghanistan from the United States have engendered a long series of events and actions fraught with serious consequences for the situation in southwest Asia, but not only there. Washington should bear this in mind.

## Reader Questions Wisdom of Aid to Afghanistan

*PM2103165789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by V. Shurygin under the rubric "Dialogue. Answering Readers' Letters": "Helping Someone in Trouble"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "For more than 9 years our soldiers shed their blood in Afghanistan, giving international assistance to the Afghan people. During that period our free economic aid, military equipment, and so forth cost us millins of rubles. Today I again saw on television supplies being shipped off to Afghanistan. Can we deprive ourselves and our own people in this way? We are sending aid to Afghanistan without knowing what is going to happen there, what regime will triumph. What is it—money down the drain?

"S. Murzina, Irkutsk."

Our international aid to Afghanistan has not been cheap. You are right on that score. We are all aware, and the government is aware, too, of course, how difficult it is today for Soviet people in worse-off categories of the population, in particular those who receive small pensions. The state is endeavoring to solve their problems on a priority basis in the course of restructuring.

As for humanitarian aid to the Afghan people, this aid, mainly food, is granted to prevent people in virtually besieged cities from dying of hunger and cold. Way back in 1921 the Government of Afghanistan presented the RSFSR with a gift of 200,000 poods of wheat for the famine-stricken people of the Volga area. Life was grim for the Afghans then. The war against the British was barely over and the economy was in ruins. The wheat they sent to Russia was not surplus to requirements, of course. But that is what good neighbors do—help one another when in trouble. And the Afghans are in trouble right now. Are we to stand by and let Afghan children die of hunger and cold?

### Pakistan's Bhutto Wants Good USSR Relations

*LD2103131489 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] London March 21 TASS—"Pakistan does not believe in nuclear proliferation", Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said in an interview published in THE LONDON TIMES [name of newspaper as received] on Tuesday.

"We want to strive to free our region from a nuclear arms race. Therefore, we have no desire to make a nuclear bomb," stated the head of the Pakistani Government.

"However, we have every right to pursue our own research and energy programmes", she pointed out.

In answer to the question about relations with the Soviet Union, Bhutto emphasized that Pakistan was still keen to promote good relations with the Soviet Union. "We believe that the return of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has provided an opportunity".

Touching upon relations with India, Pakistani prime minister pointed out that the recent visit to Pakistan by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the talks held gave a good impulse to their development.

The Indian prime minister "accepted Pakistan's desire for talks on bilateral and regional issues at face value. We reached agreement on several matters and, most importantly, a good momentum was set", Benazir Bhutto emphasised.

### Gorbachev Sends Greetings to India CP's Rao

*LD2203102889 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has cordially congratulated General Secretary of the Communist Party of India National Council Rajeswara Rao on the occasion of his reelection to the high post. The Soviet leader wished Rajeswara Rao health, fruitful work and successes in his activities aimed at strengthening India's positions in the world.

### * Indian Questions Release of 'Satanic Verses'

*18070157a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 9*

[Yuriy Kulikov and Arkadiy Orlov report: "Mosques and Swords"]

[Text] Bombay-Delhi—"Pray at night that you do not suddenly wake up famous." In the 42nd year of his life the writer Salman Rushdie woke up known throughout the entire world because he did not believe in praying. His mocking book "Satanic Verses," which, as commentators in the West have recognized, was selling unspectatularly (547 pages of quite complex text not aimed at a general public) became a bestseller overnight. The imprecation from the Ayatollah Khomeyni and his order to put the writer to death for insulting Islam has provoked religious hysteria. "While the fetwa (a theological decree) remains in force," one Iranian told the journal NEWSWEEK, "Rushdie could be killed at any time. He will be pursued to the end of his life."

The situation seems unreal when taken out of its historical context. Innumerable autos-da-fe and threats to retaliate against translators and publishers and the most malicious calls from unknown people to British representatives in Bombay, which is the place of the writer's origin, have been made.

The "Satanic Verses" is not the first book by Rushdie to be torn to shreds among certain readers. In "Children of Midnight" published 8 years ago the writer was forced to delete some lines that almost resulted in a court case against him. Two years later the satirical phantasmagoria "Shame," parodying the political situation under Ziaul Haq, evoked a storm of protest in Pakistan and was immediately banned. The writer has defined his own style as "enchanted realism," and he emphasizes that he has drawn greatly from (G. Markes). The new volume was conceived 20 years ago when Salman was studying at Cambridge, where he specialized in the history of Islam. In the part of the novel that has caused the greatest indignation among Muslims, the imaginary "city in the sand," (Jahiliya) (in which we see Mecca) and the prophet Mahound (which is what Muhammad is sometimes called in Europe) is discussed. In many scenes the names of things can easily be guessed by any Muslim. Responding to the accusations, in an interview with the newspaper INDIAN POST Rushdie said: " 'The Satanic Verses' is not a history textbook nor does it have as its purpose establishing historical facts... It is a fantasy remote from historical truth. My attempt was undertaken without any design against or disrespect for Islam." Opponents object that a sophisticated intellectual like Rushdie, who also comes from a Muslim background, must know that many unsophisticated followers of the Koran will take everything he has written at face value.

Here is an opinion that, as it were, proves that the world is nevertheless not divided into black and white and that a great deal is much more complicated than it sometimes

seems. The well-known social and political commentator Khushwant Singh is the official Indian consultant for the London publishing house Viking-Penguin, which was the first to publish "The Satanic Verses." We met in the Delhi home of K. Singh, which is carefully guarded by the police. Here in his office he has many times received Rushdie.

"Not so long ago," the journalist recalls, "he was sitting on the sofa on which you are now sitting. He had taken umbrage with me because I had called the content of the book 'lethal.' That is how it was. A year ago they sent me the manuscript from London for my conclusions. When I read it I understood that it would be impossible to print it in India. It would upset Muslims and cause problems. I explained everything. In England they were thrown into confusion. Some time later they telephoned me and ask me to read 'The Satanic Verses' again. I did, but my opinion remained unchanged. I have nothing against the book in an artistic sense. In my opinion it is good literature, paradoxical and refined. But in a country of 80 million Muslims, scoffing at religion will not be tolerated and will lead to intercommunal clashes and bloodshed. And I was obliged to warn about this. Unfortunately, I was right and the February demonstrations in Islamabad and Kashmir ended with the deaths of seven people. I said to Salman: 'You do not know your own country, which you left in your youth.' Now, for example, in Ranchi city there are religious disturbances just because the prophet was drawn in a local newspaper. I see no concession to the fundamentalists or loss of traditional democracy (as Rushdie angrily stated) in the fact that the Indian Government has banned his book. It has acted in a sober manner, preventing possible provocation and an outburst of violence. Do not take me wrong: I am unconditionally in favor of freedom for artistic creativity. But the artist should not be the cause of spilt blood. A writer is obliged to think about the consequences of each word. It is another matter that the reaction to 'The Satanic Verses' has been excessive. If you do not like the novel, do not read it. They may announce in the mosques that the book is against Islam, and they may abuse it, but then to call for the author's death and take up the sword! This is not for the good of Islam. I am a Sikh, but in my heart, the heart of a man living in a country of many religions, there is also a place for Islam. It is a bitter thing that while wishing to defend it the fanatics have only compromised their religion in the eyes of humane people. It is not happenstance that many eminent Muslim figures in India and other countries have condemned what the Ayatollah has done..."

Meanwhile passions are still aroused. The commissioner of police in Bombay has issued an order to place the 8,000 Iranians living in the city under surveillance.

However, after 15 imams at the mosques of Bombay called for a protest against the "sheltering of Rushdie in England," 5,000 Muslims rushed to the British Consulate. Furious and uncontrollable, they burned an effigy of the writer along with the school where he had at one time studied, and a pogrom took place on Muhammad Ali Road. Nine people were killed and a hundred injured. The paradox is that many of those thirsting for vengeance had not read the "blasphemous book" or would not have read it had it not been for the Ayatollah's unique advertising. This has included ultimatums: ban all books published by Penguin if it does not disavow "The Satanic Verses." And the howling mobs of believers do not know that this publisher's catalogue contains... their own sacred Koran in English translation.

East is East and West is West: so said Kipling. But perhaps they still can meet?

## Egyptian, Israeli Media Cited on Tabah Return

*PM2103152889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Correspondent D. Velikhiy report: "Return of Tabah"]

[Text] Cairo— Tabah, the name of a little place with an area of less than 1 square kilometer in the southern Sinai, on the narrow coastal strip of the Gulf of Aqaba, has often been the focus of universal attention in connection with the ins and outs of the territorial dispute between Egypt and Israel. It is hoped, however, that this is the last time Tabah will be mentioned in this connection, because the decision of international arbitration to which the question was entrusted has at last been implemented. The resort, whose occupation by Israel continued considerably longer than that of the rest of Sinai, has been returned to its legitimate owner, Egypt.

The arbitration decision, announced last year, caused different reactions from the participants in the dispute. In Egypt it was received as right, though late. In Israel it caused a sense of shock, because it runs counter to the idea that has taken root in the minds of the majority of Israelis, who regard the occupied lands as their own.

THE JERUSALEM POST, for instance, wrote in an editorial article that all international conferences and arbitration on contentious issues, especially territorial issues, are inherently harmful to Israel and must be avoided like the plague. In time, however, passions died down, though even now some politicians in Israel are inclined to refer to "the Tabah affair" as an example of a way of handling affairs that is unacceptable to that country.

However, as is well known, the arbitration decision on Tabah was not implemented on schedule. Its implementation was delayed for many months, in the course of which the Israeli occupation continued and the resort's unlawful owners continued to pump money out of it.

At the ceremony that took place for the return of Tabah, Egyptian President H. Mubarak noted that implementation of the idea of a peaceful settlement is now more important than ever before to the attainment of stability in the region: It makes it possible to look to the future with confidence.

The return of Tabah, as Cairo Radio said in commenting on the event, reflected the Egyptians' determination to regain all their land. Egypt has managed to make Israel free an occupied territory. This event, the radio broadcast noted, is of great significance.

It is noteworthy that the key to resolving the problem was the decision of **international arbitration**, and it is obvious that this way of resolving matters leads to the restoration of justice and is, in our time, a powerful instrument of collective international reason.

One can hardly fail to agree with the opinion expressed in an editorial article in THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE: The Israeli leaders must now remove the remaining barriers to a just peace in the region and heed the calls of the Palestinians for the attainment of a just settlement.

## * Palestinian Author Discusses Book for Jews

*18070157b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 14*

[Interview with Ibrahim Sous, Palestinian author of the book "Letter to a Jewish Friend," by correspondent K. Privalov in Paris; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

**[Text] The ways of books are inscrutable. It so happens that a book intended for the mass readership and destined for success by the topicality of its subject matter and the very form of its narrative and confession has not been understood by the public. Sometimes it happens otherwise: A work finds readers but is not understood by the critics.**

**That is what happened with "Letter to a Jewish Friend" by Ibrahim Sous. This small book, published in Paris at the beginning of the year, has not been portrayed as it deserves to be in the Western press, either in the literary sections or in the international commentaries. Though the "Letter" was translated into 11 languages, and print runs of many thousands were run off, in many countries it has been banned! How does Ibrahim Sous himself explain this paradox? Our correspondent K. Privalov met with the author—a representative of the PLO in Paris, leader of the PLO mission to UNESCO, and a well-known writer and prose writer—and asked him to answer some questions for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.**

[Privalov] How do you explain the differing reactions of readers and critics to your book?

[Sous] First and foremost by its very content. It is no secret that in the establishment in many countries in the West everything concerning the Near East problem evokes a deliberate positive reaction with regard to Israel and a negative with regard to the Arab countries, particularly the PLO. Unfortunately, even this year, which is an historic one for the Palestinian people, little has changed in the view of the Near East situation among those who shape public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, an advance has been made. The intifada—the war of stones—has now been going on for 12 months in the occupied territories, and the extraordinary session of the Palestinian Council, held in Algiers, proclaimed the creation of an independent democratic Palestinian state and forced a new assessment of the prospects for finding a solution to the Near East crisis. In "Letter to a Jewish Friend," readers sensed the desire of the Palestinians for dialogue with Israelis, and the book also attracted readers through its openness and candidness.

[Privalov] To whom specifically was your "Letter" addressed? What population group in Israel?

[Sous] The question cannot be posed that way, the more so since my book is called "Letter to a Jewish Friend"—to a Jewish friend, not an Israeli! I am appealing to Jews wherever they may live. Not to someone personally, but to an entire society, to a system of thinking and conduct, if you like... I was a long time writing that book and the idea of doing it in the form of a letter as a heart-to-heart talk with an unseen friend came to me after the statement made by the American winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Elie Wiesel. After having received the prize, he traveled around the world speaking in defense of mankind and the boundaries of the sufferings that have taken place along the border of Palestine. [sentence as published] As if my people have not experienced pain! As if we Palestinians are not part of mankind! Returning in his memory to the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis, did E. Wiesel never even think that perhaps a people who had been through the hell of the death camps and the slaughter in the ghettos, and the miracle of surviving that time of trial, could have so betrayed the testament of the descendants, always to remember that under any circumstances a man should remain a man? How could a people who had drained to the bottom the cup of suffering with so light a heart condemn another people to torture? I determined to ask the Jews these questions, no matter what country in which they lived, and I condensed my book, which was originally about 300 pages, to a letter understandable to everyone.

[Privalov] And what was the answer to that letter?

[Sous] If we are talking about Israel, they did take note of the book there. True, not many newspapers commented on it: In Israel they do not like to talk publicly about the tragic nature of events in the country. The "Letter to a Jewish Friend" has not yet been translated into Ivrit. Neither did the book create any great response in the

Arab world—it was not written for the Arab world—although AL-AHRAM, one of Egypt's major newspapers, did print the entire "Letter" in several installments. Negotiations are under way to publish it in Lebanon... I hope the "Letter" will also be translated into Russian. I think this book will be of some interest to you, not just people of Jewish nationality. Unfortunately, the national problems are far from solved in our world, which has become even smaller in the space age.

[Privalov] You attended the extraordinary session of the Palestinian Council that took place in Algiers. What new elements were introduced into the Near East situation by the decision to proclaim an independent Palestinian state?

[Sous] It was not easy to reach that decision, the more so since we are not a state in the full sense of the word, but a national movement scattered about the world. But we have trod our part of the difficult road and could see no reciprocal movement. Whereas we have recognized UN Security Council resolution No 242 as a basis for convening an international peace conference on the Near East, Israel has not yet done so. In its program document the PLO in fact recognizes the Jewish state within the pre-1967 borders, but Israel's leaders are reluctant to deal with present-day realities. In short, we have clearly expressed our readiness for dialogue on an equal basis and have now thrown the ball into the court of Israel and the United States.

[Privalov] And in your view is it possible for any shifts in the near future in the position of the Israeli leadership?

[Sous] A logical question! But why does everyone in the West expect new steps from the PLO rather than Israel? There is no politician now in the Jewish state who possesses an international scope. You could adore or hate a Golda Meir or a Moshe Dayan, but they had to be recognized as individuals... But where is the new generation of state figures in Israel? Where are the people with a fresh and clear view of the essential nature of things? I say nothing of the future of the Palestinian people, but where are the politicians who are really thinking about the fate of the Israeli people? Alas, the impression is being created that the present political course in Israel is distinguished by a rare shortsightedness. And so I would like to recall that history is not restricted to today and tomorrow. Is there a man in Tel Aviv capable of shaping the Israel of the future? The only thing the Israeli people can count on—and this is probably hypothetical—is that independent thinkers will appear in the ranks of the Israeli Labor Party. But for this it will have to go into the "bunker"—into sharp opposition to the Likud Party, which in this political context is hardly likely.

[Privalov] Obviously it is difficult to learn independence while always looking over one's shoulder at the other person...

[Sous] And at whom?! The way events have been regarded in these past years by the White House does not even deserve to be considered a present-day political approach. One typical example of Washington's old imperialist way of thinking was the refusal by the U.S. State Department to issue a visa for a trip to New York by Yasir Arafat. I am convinced that American foreign policy in the Near East needs a more well-considered course. In order to stabilize the peace the White House cannot proceed only from Israel's interests, the more so since the Mediterranean is the boundary of Europe, not America. The countries of Western Europe and the Soviet Union also have considerable influence in the Near East region. And this must be considered.

[Privalov] What is your prediction for 1989?

[Sous] The intifada has greatly altered the balance of power in the Near East. People have understood that the stone thrown by a 12-year-old boy at a soldier who is one of the occupiers holds a greater destructive charge than Israel's conventional, and now nuclear, armed forces. However, there are too many casualties. In this "war of stones" we have lost more than 350 people. They have been young men and women, little more than children. The concentration camps—I am not afraid to use the word—are overflowing with young people seized during the battle with the Israeli Army. Thousands have been wounded, dozens of houses destroyed... But we shall continue to fight for the right to have our own future. How do the Palestinian people see this? This is the subject of my new book, on which I have already begun work.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Joint Commission Meets, Received by Castro

*LD2203074989 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Havana March 22 TASS—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, received on Tuesday participants in the second session of the joint commission for monitoring the settlement in south-western Africa. Delegations of Angola, Cuba and South Africa, as well as observers from the USSR and the United States, are taking part in its work.

Roland Darroll, a spokesman for the South African delegation, told TASS that some progress had been achieved at the Havana meeting. It remains for the commission to specify some important details, specifically, the exchange of prisoners of war. Darroll positively assessed the intention of all the participants to find ways to the solution of existing problems, as well as a contribution made by Soviet and American delegations.

The joint commission on monitoring the settlement in south-western Africa will continue its work on Wednesday.

**Progress Toward Namibia Settlement Assessed**
*PM2203102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 First Edition pp 1, 4*

[Sergey Demidov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "'Light at End of Tunnel'"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, Mar—Sam Nujoma, who has come to Addis Ababa as president of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO], which is recognized by the international community as "the Namibian people's sole legitimate representative," was recently presented with a check for $5 million at OAU headquarters, which is located here.

The leader of the Namibian patriots gave an assurance that the money provided by the OAU will be used for a direct purpose: It will serve as a financial base for mounting SWAPO's broad political campaign on the threshold of the general election. "Today," SWAPO's leader pointed out, "we can say with pride that, thanks to the financial and material support we have been given (by various states, including African ones, over more than 2 decades—S.D.), light can at last be seen at the end of the tunnel."

However, the internal situation in Namibia is very complex now and, moreover, could be described as growing in complexity. Who is responsible for this? It is Pretoria, which with the fervor of a true cardsharper has begun a complex round in a big game over the Namibian question—to which, as follows from the "Brazzaville protocol" and the New York agreements, it seemingly agreed last year to make a positive reply, the reply found back in 1978 in UN Security Council Resolution 435. A campaign of mass terror and repression has been mounted in Namibia in recent weeks with Pretoria's approval. Units of the South African army of occupation, as well as the so-called territorial forces of south-west Africa—above all, the special "killer squads," as they are called—are carrying out operations in the country to annihilate the patriots. The apartheid regime uses killings and pogroms to try to intimidate Namibians who are sympathetic to SWAPO and thereby make them refuse to vote for this organization's representatives during the November elections. In S. Nujoma's opinion, for several months now the South African apartheid strategists have been seeking feverishly and desperately, as it were, for any excuse to squeeze out of the process of Namibia's transfer to independence a force such as SWAPO—in other words, true fighters against the colonial-racist regime created by Pretoria on Namibian soil. If they get their way, the Namibians' liberation from the control of the "iron heel" of their strong southern neighbor will be no more than a formal procedure.

SWAPO rejects this kind of prospect. "We have enough bullets," the Namibian patriots' leader declared in this connection, "and then we will be forced to continue our battle."

Even today, however, it is not bullets that decide the matter. SWAPO has shifted the emphasis in its struggle for the Namibians' liberation from armed methods to political means. It is developing work on the preelection mobilization of the masses on an increasingly large scale. In the event of a SWAPO victory, S. Nujoma declared, the government formed by him will develop relations—both economic and political—with various states, and primarily with African countries. He voiced the hope that Namibia will be able to join the OAU in a year's time. In addition, according to him, the new independent Namibian government cabinet will be interested in joining various African economic groupings—the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, for example. The new free Namibia intends to take an active part in the Nonaligned Movement and to join the United Nations, where it will be able to make its contribution to establishing peace and creating a system of universal security on the planet.

The OAU and its member countries have now expressed their full support for SWAPO in its struggle. The OAU Liberation Committee will provide the Namibian patriots with a further $2 million in the very near future.

**Soviet Committee, ANC Adopt Joint Communique**
*LD2103180689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[From the "Novosti" newscast; "Joint Communique From the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries and the African National Congress of South Africa"]

[Text] A delegation of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, headed by its secretary general, Nzo, during an official visit to the USSR in March 1989, met with a delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries [SCSAAC] led by its chairman, Comrade Kapitsa. The delegations stated that the main source of the problems of that country and the region is the apartheid regime. The apartheid system is in a state of all-around crisis, one of the most acute elements of which is the crisis of legality. This will entail further exacerbation of the internal political situation and economic stagnation.

The sides agreed that it is impossible to reform apartheid. It should be destroyed. The verbal tightrope-walking of the ruling group cannot conceal its desire to stay in power and retain the racist order at any price. The regime unleashes punitive measures even against those organizations that stress the nonviolent nature of their actions. A recent example of this was the disgraceful verdict at the Delmas trial against the leaders of the

United Democratic Front [UDF]. The racists are escalating the conflict in Natal, where peace should be restored in the interests of all the oppressed people fighting against their common enemy, apartheid.

The two sides concluded that the breakthrough concerning a settlement in southwest Africa—namely the announced halt of South African aggression against Angola, and the beginning of the process of granting independence to Namibia—is an important victory for the national liberation forces over the forces of colonialism and reaction. It was achieved as a result of the courageous struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and the heroic resistance of the Angolan people, supported by the Cuban internationalists and all progressive mankind.

The SCSAAC and the ANC call on all honest people in the world to give as much help as possible to the Namibian people to ensure that it can elect a constituent assembly in an atmosphere of peace and freedom, under the effective observation and supervision of the United Nations.

The SCSAAC and the ANC note that the South African Government is making vigorous efforts to return from international isolation, using among other things its forced withdrawal from Angola and the upcoming decolonization of Namibia. However, within the country the regime continues its repressive policies. The SCSAAC and the ANC advocate support for the whole package of measures drawn up by the world community and international public opinion aimed at exerting pressure on the Pretoria regime, including economic sanctions, cultural, academic, and athletic boycotts of the regime, and other measures directed at further isolating apartheid. The SCSAAC and the ANC voiced complete support for the mass democratic movement within South Africa in its struggle against the system of racism and apartheid.

The SCSAAC and the ANC stressed the preferential nature of resolving the country's problems by political means. It was also noted that the people of South Africa have the full right to choose the forms and means of struggle, including armed struggle, which is in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution 43-50, of 5 December 1988. The sides confirmed the invariable nature of their demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa, and the granting of the status of prisoner-of-war for captured antiapartheid fighters in accordance with the Geneva conventions of 12 August 1949, and the additional protocol No 1 of 1977.

The sides agreed that the problems of South Africa can only be settled by creating a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa on the basis of the principle of one man, one vote. In the view of both sides the necessary conditions for a serious political dialogue in South Africa are the release of political prisoners, the abolition of the state of emergency, the repeal of the ban on the ANC and other democratic organizations, the unimpeded return to the country of political emigres, and the provision of conditions for free will and political activity.

The SCSAAC assured the ANC leaders of its resolve to continue to give all possible moral, political, and practical help to the national liberation and democratic movement in South Africa in its noble fight for the liberation of the South African people. The two sides expressed deep belief in the inevitability of the failure of the system of racism and apartheid, resulting from the struggle of the popular masses within the country and pressure from the world community in support of the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa.

## East Europe

### Soviet Scholars in SFRY 'Defamed' USSR

*PM2103140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by Yugoslav writer Branko Kitanovic under the rubric "Letters from Abroad": "Leaving a Cuckoo's Egg"]

[Text] Belgrade—A characteristic feature of our social life is the unusually extensive interest in the restructuring in the Soviet Union. Reports on this theme in the press and on television generate a great response. Visiting scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia from the USSR also attract a considerable audience. The vast majority of them provide a real picture of what is going on in the Soviet Union, neither detracting from the achievements nor hiding the difficulties. But sometimes it is different.

A group of Soviet scientists and publicists visited Belgrade recently to take part in a "Soviet restructuring days" meeting and in public roundtable events. They included Yuriy Afanasyev, Gennadiy Lisichkin, Len Karpinskiy, and Lev Nikiforov. The latter, apparently, works at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. I want to say in no uncertain terms that under the slogan of support for restructuring in the Soviet Union they made a number of strange statements which, to put it mildly, defamed the Soviet system. The common feature of all their comments was that the USSR is a totalitarian society in which there is not and has never been socialism.

Their attitude to the Soviet land's 70-year history and the Soviet people's achievements, particularly after the New Economic Policy period, was more than nihilistic. For example, Nikiforov repeated the claims of the U.S. Sovietologists Brzezinski and Kissinger about the "general historical crisis of socialism." Karpinskiy campaigned for the multiparty system and criticized Gorbachev for "inconsistency" and for supporting a pluralism of opinions only within a socialist framework, which, he said, is contrary to "true democracy." He assured his

Yugoslav audience that V.I. Lenin was wrong when he expected the Great October Socialist Revolution to develop into a worldwide socialist revolution. Afanasyev solemnly stated that exploitation exists in the USSR, particularly in the countryside, and that in "such a totalitarian society as the Soviet one" real art (including literature, music, and the cinema) could not really develop. Lisichkin fervently contrasted the "economic boom" of the four little "Asian tigers" to the experience and achievements of socialism and denied the justification for the existence of the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system and the planned economy.

I have no room for a more detailed list and analysis of all their gems and gibberish, which are as credible as the visions of St Anthony. I have translated into Serbo-Croat some of the works of M.S. Gorbachev, including the book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and for the Whole World," in which he gives a concise, clear, and convincing account of the 70-year experience of building socialism in the USSR and the current restructuring of Soviet society. For that reason I can boldly affirm that the views of the participants in the events which I have mentioned contradict the views contained in the book and the essence of restructuring.

I shall recall here just 10 of what I think are the best known truths.

—The USSR's 70-year path (taking into account the various serious deformations) was correct on the whole and based on the theory of scientific socialism and not on bare schemes and voluntarism.

—A critical consideration of the past is not the same as a negative attitude to the world achievements of the Soviet people. M.S. Gorbachev rightly said that restructuring is being built not from scratch but on what has already been created.

—The USSR is the first country to have resolved the unemployment problem, something which not a single capitalist state has yet managed to do. Citizens' social provision is an inseparable characteristic of socialism.

—The Soviet land was the first country in the world to carry out a comprehensive cultural revolution and has resolved the question of free medical provision and schooling.

—At the present stage of its development the Soviet state has comprehensively ensured the population's basic living conditions. (For the sake of the truth let me say that there is still quite a lot to be done here both quantitatively and qualitatively.)

—The Soviet land has reached great heights in science and technology (the conquest of space, nuclear power, electrical power, medicine, the military industry, and so forth).

—If the Soviet land had not achieved those things, as the aforementioned roundtable participants claimed, how would fascism have been defeated? And would the highly developed Western countries really be talking with the Soviet Union on equal terms now? It is naive to believe that the capitalists would have agreed from "humanitarian" or "philosophical" considerations to hold talks on peace and the easing of the international situation.

—It is well known that every democracy has its own class content. It is understood that in the restructuring now being carried out by the Soviet people it is necessary to develop not an abstract democracy but a socialist democracy. A pluralism of interests and opinions in a socialist society must be based on the fundamental interests of the working class and not on attempts to distort those interests by various bourgeois stunts.

—It is not true that after the great October revolution the socialist revolution did not continue in the world. It triumphed in a whole series of European countries and in states in Asia and America.

—It doesn't take great intelligence to dispute historian Afanasyev's superficial view of Soviet art, which is a far more complex phenomenon than it appears from his standpoint. In the period which he criticized in particular Gorky, Sholokhov, Aleksey Tolstoy, Mayakovskiy, Leonov, Bulgakov, Prokofyev, Shostakovich, Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Galina Ulanova were working in the USSR....

In conclusion I should like to say one thing. As I see it, Afanasyev, Lisichkin, Karpinskiy, and Nikiforov, viewed from the angle of the struggle for restructuring, have actually fought against it by trying to substitute their own fabrications for its essence.

## Jaruzelski Says PZPR Passes 'Historic Test'

*PM2103104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Historic Test"]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Mar—The class policy of a socialist state and social justice will never fade from view for the PZPR, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, said. He was speaking in Katowice at the report-back conference of the PZPR voivodship organization—the largest in Poland, with more than 240,000 party members.

The party can now be said to have passed a historic test, considering the drama of the situation, the scale of the reappraisal of values, and the sharpness of the turn, the speaker stressed. Contrary to the voices that can sometimes be heard saying that many people will not withstand the pressure and that the party will lose part of its base, nothing of the kind has happened. There is no

feasible alternative to the general line mapped out at the Ninth PZPR Congress and confirmed in the new situation at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Referring to the "roundtable" talks involving representatives of the government coalition, the trade unions, and the constructive opposition, W. Jaruzelski stressed that everyone—the party, its allies, political independents, and the opposition—has gradually joined in these talks. The fact that we have embarked on this path is a common victory for all Poles, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stressed.

**New Polish Hard Currency Law 'Useful'**
*PM2103153789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch under the rubric "How It's Done": "Currency Market Instead of Black Market"]

[Text] Warsaw—A new hard currency law aimed at eliminating the black market for money and strengthening the zloty by making it convertible—first just within the country—took effect in Poland on 15 March.

The task is serious and not without an element of risk. It was the center of attention at a session of the Banks Council held that same day, in which I. Sekula, deputy chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, took part. He noted that the new law provides an opportunity to turn the zloty into a truly strong currency capable of fulfilling all the functions entrusted to it.

Polish bankers comprehensively discussed the truly dramatic situation with regard to the zloty created late last year and early this year. This was a time when prices soared at an incredible rate, but the population's money supply grew even more. The processes of inflation and the depreciation of the zloty intensified. As a result the dollar exchange rate on the thriving black market soared. Whereas in fall 1988 the dollar was worth Z2,270, in December this figure had risen to Z3,380. This had never happened here before. By this March, however, the black market dollar rate had somewhat dropped.

I visited the popular National Bank of Poland on Warsaw Insurgents Square. The first thing that struck me was the densely packed line of people at the window where dollars and other foreign currency, which, thanks to the new law, is just another commodity, were being bought and sold. Dollars are bought from the population at Z2,900 and sold at Z3,000. The rates for the West German mark are Z1,600-1,700 respectively and the Swiss franc Z1,900-2,000.

These are black market prices, but the market itself has ceased to exist at a mere stroke of the pen, so to speak. It took boldness and ideological get-up-and-go on the part of the new government led by M. Rakowski to strike the unusual blow against all manner of speculators and scoundrels lurking in hallways and outside the "Pewex" stores, where goods are only sold in exchange for dollars. What is the point in buying "greenbacks" from a shady individual and taking risks when you can now officially obtain them at banks and special exchange centers?

A line had formed at the bank by 0800 hours. One hour later, when it began trading, it became clear that it was mainly people who wanted to buy currency rather than sell it who had gathered there. Some wanted to obtain a substantial sum right away—$500, for instance, for which they would have to shell out Z1.5 million. Not a trivial sum.

Ryszard Michalski, senior worker at the Polish Ministry of Finance, commented on the event for IZVESTIYA:

"The free hard currency market," he said, "will make it possible to reinforce our national currency—the zloty—and to eliminate currency speculation, which is inevitable when you have an uncontrolled black market. The so-called 'shadow economy' will thus be incorporated into the legal economy, which is now being comprehensively reformed."

My interlocutor said that ordinary banks and savings banks probably lack the space for currency exchange transactions, so it has been decided to allow private individuals to open their own currency exchange centers. Hundreds of applications have already been lodged by enterprising citizens. Dozens of such centers will appear in Warsaw alone in the near future. Particularly many are being formed in the Western areas of Poland and on the Baltic coast, where there is active tourist and business traffic. The proprietor of an exchange center (he must know about currency matters, have suitable premises and a good reputation, and also be able to pay Z100,000 for registration) is only an intermediary between the citizens and the state. But at the same time he presumably has every opportunity to earn a good living from the difference between buying and selling prices for currency. Of course, he has to pay tax.

R. Michalski is convinced that the venture will be successful. He cites the following data: Five million Polish citizens have their own hard-currency accounts in banks and these total 4 billion in dollars alone. There is every reason to assume, he remarked, that there is up to $1 billion more "hidden away in stockings" too.... These impressive sums must, as my interlocutor put it, be removed from the "gnawing criticism of mice" and put to "active" use.

The new currency law is useful in every respect, Including the purely psychological one. "Pewex" stores, which sell various superior imported goods ranging from canned beer to audiovisual equipment and computers in exchange for dollars, were previously only frequented by the "elect," and this provoked not entirely healthy

sentiments in the "rest of the population." These stores are now open to everyone who has zlotys and, consequently, dollars. This will defuse aggrieved people's sentiments.

There is more: A currency market designed for industrial enterprises is being mobilized. They can now participate more extensively than before in specially held foreign currency auctions. Fairs operating on the principle of auctions offer for sale up to $2 billion per year. Anyone who intends to improve his production unit by buying the requisite raw materials, semimanufactures, equipment, and latest technology abroad will now be unable to manage without taking part in the fairs.

Thus a free currency market is beginning to operate in Poland. Politicians, economists, sociologists, and all interested people, in their millions, will keep an attentive eye on the experiment. The very near future will show what it yields.

## MSZMP Freedom of Platforms Bill Described

*PM2203110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Report by own correspondent V. Gerasimov under general heading: "Life of Fraternal Parties"]

[Text] Budapest, 21 Mar—Last year the May MSZMP party conference decided that party members in a minority during the discussion of issues, while unquestionably fulfilling the will of the majority, can in the future nonetheless draw attention to their position. The MSZMP Central Committee bill on freedom of platforms has now been published.

The bill states that respect for the opinion of the minority and freedom of platforms in the party will make it possible regularly to take account of different systems of views. As is well known, V.I. Lenin, who repudiated factional struggle, deemed it essential to have freedom of platforms in the party: a system whereby the minority seeks to persuade the majority.

Here, so that there should be no decline in the party's efficiency or unity of action, the MSZMP Central Committee bill particularly stresses that a minority defending its platform must fulfill the majority decision.

Primary organizations and elected organs now have the right to decide for themselves how to react to initiatives from party members. If the "minority" in an organization reaches 25 percent, the leading organs must put the question up for discussion.

The document stresses that factional activity will be viewed as the abuse of the right of freedom of platforms. The initiatives of individual party members must not violate the rights of other party members and cannot paralyze the activity of leading organs, be aimed against unity in carrying out particular actions, or serve as the point of departure for creating hostile groupings. Realizing that the number of conflict situations may increase, the MSZMP Central Committee also proposes in its bill to create independent organs under the MSZMP Central Committee and the provincial committees—"commissions for the coordination of interests" or a "party court"—to examine disputes.

## Hungarian Newsman on History, Current Reforms

*PM2203092189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Hungarian journalist Andras Szanto: "Realizing the Set Tasks. On the 70th Anniversary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On this anniversary, it is important first and foremost to establish the "message" of the Hungarian Soviet Republic to us, its successors, who are engaged in the fundamental renewal of economic and political life in the 5th decade of socialist building.

Our attitude to the past equally determines our attitude to the present and the future. This old truth is being put to the test in practice in Hungary today as never before. As in the Soviet Union, events of the distant and recent past now concern Hungarian public opinion not only in connection with important dates. The revelation of new facts and the reinterpretation and reappraisal of well-known facts have become an inalienable part of everyday political life.

Seventy years ago, the young workers government was weakened by mistakes resulting from inexperience and inadequate political knowledge, and external imperialist aggression stifled it. The Hungarian Soviet Republic lasted for just 133 days and was drowned in blood. Some of its leaders were forced to emigrate, while others languished in jails for many years. Many, going underground, continued to struggle for their just cause. Only in 1945 did Hungary's liberation by the Red Army bring new opportunities and the hope of truly free, democratic development.

The first years of postwar development justified these hopes. However, it soon became clear that power had fallen into the hands of a narrow group of sectarians and dogmatists whose policies led in the late forties and early fifties to unlawful trials, forcible collectivization, a voluntarist economic policy, and, ultimately, to a crisis and alienation of the broad people's masses from a leadership that had arrogated power and distorted socialist slogans. Only at the end of 1956, after paying for past mistakes and after the popular uprising which developed into a counterrevolution, did the process begin which soon made Hungary one of the pioneers of socialist reform.

The party conference held in May last year set up a working commission, one of whose tasks is to conduct an objective assessment, based on historical facts and documents, of 4 decades of socialist building. In this work, the party is counting on the cooperation of Soviet researchers and the use of documents in Soviet archives.

The aim of the MSZMP in this research work is to accurately establish what has been inherited by today's generation, how to rectify the mistakes of the past, and what illusions to abandon. The commission must submit a new party program based on a national historical foundation for discussion by the next party congress.

It is well known that internal political life in Hungary today is in a state of rapid flux and that changes toward which the country has been working for decades are unfolding.

Economic reform is again gathering momentum and is being implemented simultaneously with a program of stabilization designed to extricate the country from its serious economic situation. Crisis phenomena are holding back the progress of reform. However, despite the difficulties, people realize that there is no going back—"the only retreat is forward."

In addition to the economic reform, political reform is also developing on a broad scale: It would take a whole newspaper article to list just the main aspects of this reform. A new constitution is being drafted; the National Assembly has passed more laws in 1 year than it has in most previous years together; new political parties are being formed or old ones are resuming their activity; and alternative social movements are being organized.

The MSZMP, which even last May envisaged implementing political, economic, and social reforms within the framework of a one-party system, is now trying to lead the process of maturing socialist pluralism within the framework of a multiparty system.

Despite the fact that any such political process is fraught with the threat of excessive haste and of lapsing into extremes, the tension which has been building up for many years has not spilled over constitutional limits. Sober forces, which form the majority both in the MSZMP and in the new parties and movements now establishing themselves, are fully resolved to prevent the development of negative trends. If we succeed in attaining our proclaimed goals and proving our commitment to the old revolutionary principles in practice, and if an upswing in the economy becomes reality, this will be the best monument to the work of the revolutionaries of 1919.

## * Success of CSSR Collectivized Farming Viewed

*WA18070557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by S. Vtorushin: "The Bounty of the Collective Hectare"]

[Text] **They say about Czechoslovakia, that whatever grocery store you go into, you will find 30 kinds of sausage. After all, this country does not possess huge land resources. There is only .31 hectares of arable land per person. And it cannot compare in fertility with our black earth. There are more than a few fields of loam and stones. However, last year, on this .31 hectares, for every resident was produced 130 kilograms of meat, 431 liters of milk, 760 kilograms of grain, and 46 kilograms of sugar. What are the roots of these high results of the toilers of the Czechoslovak village?**

"Collective agriculture became our basic foundation," states chief economist of the "Obrantsu Miru" agricultural cooperative, near the city of Prosteyev, in the Yaroslav district. He adds: "Let us take our farm, for example. It is the smallest in the area. We have only 1,430 hectares of arable land. Last year, on this land we produced 630 metric tons of meat, of those, 300 tons of pork, and 2 million liters of milk. The average grain yield was 67.5 quintals per hectare. Our net profit reached 2 million kron (about 200,000 rubles-S. V.). I can frankly say that we could not have dreamed of such results 30 years ago. Among our peasants are many who at one time had their own private farms. Not one of them would now agree to go back to that. The cooperative has opened up completely new economic and social opportunities for the rural person.

What has assisted the cooperative's prosperity? I wanted to speak about this with its chairman, Boguslav Golub, but he was not at home. At the office, they told me that he had gone to France to the "Agrosalon" agricultural exhibition. This is also one of the distinctive signs of the modern Czechoslovak countryside. Village leaders and farm specialists are extraordinarily mobile. The moment they hear about some innovation, they rush off to see whether they can apply it to their own work.

Everyone considers it his duty to visit a good-quality agricultural exhibition. Incidentally, more than a few of these exhibitions are held annually in Czechoslovakia itself. They are all businesslike, and are more of an experimental laboratory than an overview of achievements. To these exhibitions, whether in Brno, Cheske-Budeyevitse, or Nitra, ordinary farmers always come, along with the specialists. They feel that a positive experiment is the same as a bank account. A good idea can always be found at an exhibition. And in today's world, good ideas are expensive.

It must be noted that in the time which has passed since collectivization, the Czechoslovak countryside has been through several phases of development. The current model of agriculture was not formed all at once; a number of initial projects had to be rejected.

Strictly administrative methods of control were in effect in the first years after collectivization. Everything was planned by the collective; the area and cultures to be sown, the size of the livestock herds, including cows, calves, and sows. Even the sowing and harvest periods very established by directives. Yet here everyone was

soon convinced that administrative methods were undermining people's initiatives, creating inertia and irresponsibility, and depriving man of his main stimulus—an interest in the end result of his labor. This is why administrative methods were replaced by economic ones, albeit not immediately.

Now, only two targets are planned for Czechoslovak cooperatives: the supply of grain and meat. No other centralized assignments are given to the farms. The farmers produce all of the rest on the basis of direct agreements with trade organizations and processing enterprises.

The question may arise: But doesn't this lead to the disappearance from the store counters of first one, then another product? Let us say, the area trade did not reach an agreement to supply carrots. Or the cooperative refused to produce cucumbers because it was not profitable. After all, situations such as these are encountered all the time in real life.

Before resolving to give the farms only two targets, it was necessary to create certain conditions which would interest the peasant-cooperative members in a production output of the broadest possible range and highest quality. One of such prerequisites was the guarantee of the inviolable resources to be earned by the agricultural cooperative. Everything received from the sale of its production belongs to it, and can be spent only by it. Here, an immovable principle is in effect: If you want to live better, earn more money.

Firm wholesale prices are established for all agricultural production, with quality as their primary consideration. For example, the wholesale price of a kilogram of standard pork is 16.98 krons. If the thickness of the lard exceeds 2.5 centimeters, the wholesale price is lowered by 4 krons. This not only promotes the production of meat over lard, but lowers the feed expenses. After all, producing a kilogram of lard requires that the animal consume almost twice as much combination feed as producing a kilogram of meat.

A very broad price scale has been established for vegetables, depending on the season. If a kilogram of green peppers costs 35 krons in January, it costs 6 krons in July. This forces the farms to produce vegetables year-round, and in an assortment which the buyer needs.

The rejection of administrative methods of leadership unleashed the the executives' initiative, forcing them to display entrepreneurial activity. First of all, people started to think about how to make better use of what they had. In this regard, the conversation with Yaroslav Shestak, cooperative chairman of the "Mir" cooperative, in the Gotvald area, comes to mind.

This farm is located in a foothills zone, where the fields were never known for their good harvests. Of the 2,800 hectares of collective farm land which it has, only 1,640 are arable. Until 1980, the cooperative had consistent losses.

"We began by inviting scientists, and with their help, developed the cooperative's program of development for the next 10 years," said Yaroslav Shestak. "The program has several parts. One concerns the intensity of farming. Our specialists, together with the scientists, determined which measures should be implemented in order to raise the fertility of every hectare, and what cultures it would be best to produce under our conditions. We added lime to the soil, and began to use up to 3,000 metric tons (dry weight) of organic fertilizers on the tilled land annually. As a result, in 3 years, grain yields rose from 41 to 62 centners per hectare. Intensive types of pasture land were created, allowing us to significantly increase horned livestock herd size. Milk yields increased 1.5 fold, now reaching about 5,000 liters per cow annually. The average annual output per worker reached 200,000 krons. Within only 3 years, the farm went from being in arrears to being highly profitable."

Or another example. In the Tabor area there is the "Khoustnik" cooperative. It too is small, with only 1,100 hectares of arable land. The main culture produced by the cooperative is potatoes. Its harvest is 300 or more quintals per hectare. It is a profitable culture. But the farmers calculated, that if they were to sell not just regular potatoes, but semiprepared or ready-to-eat products, their profits would grow several times over.

The cooperative did not have funds of its own to begin this processing. Therefore, the cooperative turned for help to the "Zelenina" organization, similar to our "Plodovoshchtorg." Through joint efforts, they purchased an assembly line to process potatoes. It operates year-round and produces two types of products. One of them is peeled potatoes, which began to appear in the factory cafeterias and restaurants of Prague. These are eager to buy semiprepared products, despite their somewhat higher prices. It is more advantageous to the restaurant to purchase peeled potatoes that to occupy their chefs with preparatory work.

Another type of product is potato chips in cellophane packages. They enjoy unlimited demand. The cooperative produces 14,000,000 such packages annually.

"This line yields 8 million krons profit annually," says cooperative chairman Frantishek Shkrdleta. "In addition, we began to use the peelings; starch is left in the water from washing the peeling potatoes. This used to be lost as waste. Now it is used on the farm for supplemental livestock feed."

Folk wisdom dictates that if there is a chance to waste money, there must also be a need to earn it. Subsidiary production is widely developed in Czechoslovak cooperatives. There is probably not a single farm in the entire country which is not involved with it. Subsidiary production solves more than a few problems of the modern countryside. It assists in the full utilization of the work force on a year-round basis. It broadens the choice of professions, which is quite limited in the village. It keeps the youth in line. If, for example, a girl does not want to work on the farm or in a brigade after graduation, she can find a place in a subsidiary department. And when she gets married, her husband will work with tractors and combines. If there were no subsidiary production, the farm would lose more than one pair of working hands. But this is not the only advantage.

Subsidiary production gives the farm the opportunity to earn significant funds, helping to solve many social problems quickly, and intensifying farming and animal husbandry and developing the base for preservation and processing of food production. In a number of cases, foreign currency can be earned as well. In that same "Obrantsu Miru" cooperative discussed in the beginning, subsidiary production is surprising. The cooperative bought a small sawmill. They saw boards to make pallets for transporting bricks. The enterprising chairman found a buyer for these products in the FRG. With the money received from the sale of boards, the cooperative bought two Austrian electronic milking machines.

But the farmers sell more than boards abroad. For example, the "Mir" cooperative from the village of Tsifer, in the western Slovak area, agreed with the "Bekker" West German firm to jointly produce a precision seeding machine. They enjoy a demand in both the FRG and Czechoslovakia. There are more than a few such examples.

Agricultural cooperatives produce complex equipment, including electronic elements and mass consumer goods. They have their own restaurants, hotels, and stores. The annual volume of goods and services they produce totals in the billions of krons. All of this money goes toward the development of the village economy, including construction of housing, roads, and village conveniences.

In order to manage the farm on the level of these Czechoslovak cooperative members, one must be economical and count every kopeck. This is why economic accountability is widely used here, often based on the principles of leasing. The collective of the "Slushovitse" agrocomplex has gone the furthest along these lines.

Here, every subdivision, whether plant-growing or animal husbandry, transportation or the construction department, is an independent economic unit. Its workers' salaries are directly dependent upon the end results of labor, the size of the expenses and the receipts. In order to plow the field or harvest the wheat, the plant-growing department, for example, must pay for this work from its own fund in accordance with the evaluation of the mechanical department. The payment for fertilizer, means for the plants' defense, comes from this same fund. In short, for all resources and services, the collective of the shop pays rates as if it were dealing with an outside enterprise or farm.

The product the plant growers raise is given to the government or sold to the animal husbandry shop. The difference received from the relation and payment for resources and services, after deductions necessary to create a centralized fund, goes to the collective. Salary and prize money are deducted from these moneys. This is why every person here is concerned with producing as much as possible while minimizing expenses.

In production sectors where the conditions are appropriate, leases are widely used. The first to transfer to such a system were the machine operators and the vegetable growers. At "Slushovitse," the machine operator is the master of his equipment he works on in the full sense of the word. Upon getting a place in the agrocomplex, he leases a tractor. The tractor operator fulfills the function of a dispatcher, but all of the money he earns goes to his personal account. A recalculation takes place at the end of the month. Payment for the tractor amortization is deducted from his earnings, as well as fuel, tires, and spare parts. Everything left goes to the tractor operator. There is no ceiling on earnings; the efficacy of the leasing system is that high. At "Slushovitse" the expenses for fuel are 17 percent; for parts, 20 percent; for tires, 20 percent; 15 percent less than the national average.

The attitude toward the land is the same. The brigade of vegetable growers at the agrocomplex is allocated a greenhouse. People's salaries come from the difference between the sum received from the sale of the produce and the payment of all of the expenses of its production. The vegetable growers know that in early spring, a kilogram of first-rate cucumbers costs 20 krons; second-rate, 5 krons less. And the so-called ungraded cucumbers cost only a quarter of the first-rate price. Therefore, they do everything possible to grow cucumbers as early as possible and only high-quality ones.

Entrepreneurial freedom has forced the Czechoslovak peasant to look at even scientific and technological progress in a completely new way. Here, literally every farm is chasing after the latest innovation, from whose introduction they could receive even the slightest economic benefit. All low-yield types of grain cultures have not been grown on Czechoslovak soil for some time now, and all the farm animals have documents and pedigrees. Here, no expense is spared to obtain high-yield seed and stock-breeding animals. In practice, every kron invested in the introduction of scientific achievements is returned ten-fold.

It light of this, one more example should be mentioned. A joint Soviet-Czechoslovak biotechnology laboratory was organized in the city of Nitra 2 years ago. One of its

main tasks is the improvement of early embryonic transplant technology, which would allow every elite cow to produce 20 or more calves annually. The laboratory had hardly opened before 26 Czechoslovak farms signed cooperation agreements. And not one of our farms! Why then are Soviet specialists working there? Certainly not just to write scholarly articles?

The structure of the CSSR agrarian complex has been greatly simplified since the beginning of this year. Rayon and oblast agricultural administrations were abolished. In their place arose representatives of the agricultural ministry, an apparatus 2.5 times smaller than the previous one. The functions of the rayon and oblast links of administration were principally altered. Now they do not concern themselves with any current management issues. The farms themselves are in a position to do this. The representatives' task is the determination of the direction of the further development of the agrarian complex, assistance in assimilation of the achievements of science and technology, and the introduction of the scientists' developments.

The cooperative chairman and the goskhoz director have become the main leaders of agriculture. They bear full responsibility for satisfying the country's demands for foodstuffs. Experience shows that they are successfully coping with their assignments. In any store you stop in, you will find fresh meat and 30 or more kinds of sausage.

## West Europe

### Yakovlev Speaks in Rome on United Europe

*PM2203101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report on speech by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, to Italian politicians and public figures in Rome on 20 March: "European Civilization and Contemporary Political Thinking"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who heads the CPSU delegation to the 18th Italian Communist Party [PCI] Congress, addressed Italian parliamentarians, politicians, public figures, and representatives of the mass media here today.

He said, among other things:

A unique and unparalleled combination of circumstances—natural, geographic, sociohistorical, and all others—made possible the creation and development of the Europe which we know and see today. Europe has been created by wisdom and labor, it has been created selflessly; but the forces of nature, evil fate, and the sick vagaries of power-seekers have mercilessly destroyed the creations of the sculptor of life—man.

It appears that different times are approaching today. It seems that the idea of a world without violence is acquiring ever more realistic forms. It appears that moral principles are being cleared from the scab of hypocrisy and are becoming a real force of activity.

What is the call to Europe by the end of the 20th century? Its essence lies in the fact that our ancient and beautiful continent has nothing left for war, neither spiritually, consciously, nor morally. It is as though we were all up a mountain pass. The situation has become swollen with contradictions. The choice is obvious, it seems. But the powerful material potential of confrontation and military force is agreeably learning to live with the fact that war has been rejected. The confrontation between the blocs remains. The old interests vigorously grasp at the old myths. The positive tendencies are gaining in strength, but still need to be taken care of and protected.

Even so, Europe, one would like to believe, has entered a historic period of transition from military confrontation to the creation, timid though it may still be, of an infrastructure of security, stability, and cooperation.

This, in all respects, is not an easy task. Over the past 2 millenia Europe waged many battles, fiercely and with much bloodshed. There were the "100 Years" war and the "30 Years" war. It went to war for religious dogmas and for revision of borders, for the interests of monarchs and clans, for partition and repartition of someone else's territories, even those situated on the other side of seas and oceans. And how many cruel civil wars were there? Dearly, inordinately dearly the peoples of Europe had to pay for the bloody orgies of the conquerors, for the unbridled greed for riches, for the low passions of the mighty of the bygone age, for the intolerance toward dissidence and haughty arrogance.

In other words, Europe's development progressed through the hardest convulsions of violence. Nonetheless, Europe somehow succeeded in accumulating material and spiritual potential, a capital of political culture, civilization, learning and education, humanism. And not only accumulating for itself, but sharing it with the whole world.

The early formation of contemporary statehood. The law and the idea of a law-governed state. The formation of nations and the fruitful mutual influence of national cultures. Economic growth. Industrial civilization. Military skills and weapons. Philosophical and ethical, political and ideological, socioeconomic and religious teachings and trends. Revolutions which determined the outlook of the modern world—from the great French Revolution to the Great October. And finally, socialist teaching and practice. All this was born and developed in Europe, and spilled over to other countries and continents.

I speak of this, A.N. Yakovlev continued, by no means in order to emphasize some European "exclusivity," and even less some "superiority." But only in order to bring

out the idea that the common European historical heritage gives us a particular responsibility for the future of today's world, and this commands of us political will, decisiveness, and a clear understanding of where we are going and why, what we hope to achieve. It calls for an understanding of the common nature of the historical destiny of the peoples of the continent.

Until now Europe has created while destroying, destroyed while creating, but the historical balance has, in the final analysis, remained on the side of creation. At the present time the likelihood that this will actually remain the case has been shaken by the monstrous accumulation of weapons and destructive violence to nature. Will Europe withstand such cruel anthropogenic pressure? One cannot think about this without alarm. Nor about the fact that such a payment for development is not inevitable, that it is practically and morally unacceptable, and that we have sufficient knowledge and resources to harmonize progress with nature.

Hope lies here on good sense, on sensible reason. On culture, tolerance, and the survival instinct. On an understanding of the fact that the problems which yesterday appeared urgent recede before the supreme interest of preserving life on earth. For fear is an unworthy counsellor. Intimidation, whether mutual or unilateral, signifies a denial of trust and respect, a denial of normal human relations. But life needs the natural norms of cooperation. And not just that—it generates them.

This hope is once again linked with Europe. I am in no way committing the sin of European centrism. I am not forgetting that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter- Range Missiles has been concluded with the United States. But I imagine that Europe, above all, has grown weary of wars and the arms race. It can no longer live in the constant expectation of a nuclear conflict. Herein, probably, lies the reason for Europe, after 1945, avoiding wars at the time they were erupting in various corners of the rest of the world. It is in this, and not in the nuclear deterrence so dear to the heart of some Atlantic politicians.

"Wisdom is the daughter of experience," Leonardo da Vinci said. The fact that the experience of European civilization has had and continues to have worldwide significance, is sufficiently clear. But its significance is especially important now, when Europe can conduct a great experiment of historic significance—the creation of a system of mutual relations wholly appropriate to the challenges of the present-day world and the best spiritual traditions of European civilization. It is precisely this option of development which new political thinking proffers.

In itself, the idea of a European community is not new. As has already been said, it has been put forward by many generations of our predecessors. Its roots go back to the Middle Ages, to antiquity. The consciousness of interdependence, of being linked to each other, has for centuries been a part of the European perception of the world.

In the past, all kinds of strongmen frequently strove to use this idea in their plans of conquest, proclaiming themselves to be "uniters of Europe." But there were other motives and inducements as well. Their bearers had seen ways to achieve peace and all-around good, and had proposed various forms of a Europe-wide organization which, they believed at the time, could guarantee the flourishing of the peoples of the continent.

Throughout the centuries a united Europe without Russia was not imagined. The cultural, political, and economic ties of Russia with the rest of Europe go back to the times of Kievan Rus, if not earlier. Sometimes these ties were broken for a long time, or became less strong: to begin with as a result of the Tatar-Mongol invasion, and then owing to the striving of the coalitions of European powers that replaced one another to fence Russia off from Europe, having turned it into entailed domains of yet another "great power" of the moment.

The very numerousness of such attempts—and for all that one cannot deny their immanent succession—confirms that the striving to place Russia outside the political bounds of Europe is unattainable. Russia invariably returned to the lap of European politics as soon as there was a switch from artificial exacerbation of the confrontation to the normal course of events.

Europe is the most unsuitable field for exercises in authoritarianism, for anyone's special claims. In the theater of the political, cultural, and intellectual life of the continent, the democratic principle and the acknowledgement of the fact and value of the diversity of everything that exists, have always ultimately triumphed. The trend toward humanism and progress has always been linked in Europe with the ideas and practice of democracy. No doubt it is precisely this circumstance which made Europe what it will remain in tomorrow's and the day after tomorrow's world: the focus of humanist thought, values, and practice.

It is also now becoming particularly evident that the appearance in Europe of socialism as a social doctrine, a moral system, and political practice is no coincidence, no aberration of history. Socialism was prepared by the entire preceding course of European history; by the accumulation of unresolved problems; by the progress of industry, technology, and science; by Europe's age-long regard for the human being, his inner world, the goals of his elevation and improvement; and by the continuity of the common human ideals of social justice, good, and humanism, which permeate the common history of the continent known to us all.

We are convinced that it is possible and necessary to overcome the political and other consequences of the gulf connected with the birth in Europe of a new, socialist social system. It is well known that following October 1917, bourgeois Europe became nervous, irritable, and—to be more precise—it handled the revolution and Soviet power uncompromisingly and harshly. In general one can understand such a reaction. It is more difficult to understand and to come to terms with the fact that such sentiments have still not been completely left behind. Particularly in conditions where, under the influence of the new social order, elements of a socialist spirit are more and more noticeably entering the life of the western part of Europe. They are entering so naturally that they are already ceasing to be considered as coming from another world.

The gulf between the East and West of Europe is gradually being overcome. Both "iron curtains," from the one side and the other, are receding into the past. The penetrability of the continent is becoming more and more tangible: a penetrability for flows of information, for business and human contacts, for trade, and for multifarious cooperation. The heritage of European civilization also includes the ability to see alongside the differences, the common features of historical processes and paths of progress, and this unites those participating. It includes the ability to draw practical conclusions from this, while preserving one's essence and fidelity to one's ideals and values.

Thinkers of the past offered various panaceas to save Europe from wars. Today the question presents itself much more broadly. The organization of security based on new principles. Economic ties, humanitarian cooperation, at the heart of which will lie not just human rights, but an understanding of man as the measure of all things. Only in such a world, in such conditions, will the peoples of the continent be able to free themselves of the oppressive feeling of a lack of security, to gain all opportunities and possibilities for further progress.

We proclaim the priority of common human values and interests above other interests, we recognize the pluralism of the present and future world, and we see in it the source of development and mutual enrichment of systems, countries, and peoples.

Europe and the single ecological whole. Among the negative features of the legacy of European civilization is its traditional attitude toward nature, in many respects a consumerist attitude, which has brought the continent to the brink of ecological crisis. In Europe, respect for man (he is the crown of creation) had as its reverse side an affirmation of the irrationality and imperfection of nature, with an orientation toward its subjugation. We are all reaping the bitter fruits of this. The challenge facing Europe lies in creating a new model of development, based on harmony with nature. Nature does not recognize borders, divisions into different systems, and is indifferent to opposing alliances.

It is sometimes stated to us: Everything that you say and do has been forced upon you.

It is time, finally, to realize this: No, it has not been forced upon us, even though it is done under pressure from real, objective circumstances. In many ways, incidentally, the same as those that affect the West. The fact that we are changing is the result of a conscious decision made as a result of an interpretation of these circumstances. This is a new policy which has been achieved through the suffering of a people following their chosen path.

A clear deduction has been made in the Soviet Union, A.N. Yakovlev went on: Future development is impossible within closed parallel systems. The idea of a cognizable, humanized regular order of world processes has also emerged in Europe. The concept of a "common European home" was born as a result of all the realities of the end of the 20th century, the present-day level of development of mankind, and the qualitatively new state of Europe. In speaking out in favor of this we are at the same time releasing ourselves from the enslavement of obsolete stereotypes. Among these was the postulate of Heraclitus that "war is the father of all and the Caesar of all".

What is the new political thinking as applied to Europe in its philosophical and psychological aspects? Here one may single out three key elements. First, a sincere, direct, frank, and honest dialogue instead of confrontation. A serious discussion, rich in content, about common problems, their analysis, and joint searches for ways of solving them.

Second, practical actions on the basis of jointly arrived at results of dialogue instead of temporizing, hestitations, inertia, and passivity, no matter how these are justified.

Third, the shaping of trust by way of interaction in cooperation, by way of the jointly acquired experience of collective actions instead of masochistic self-delight at the distrust which has historically arisen.

The ideological and political foundation of the "common European home" concept is provided by the Helsinki process. The "common European home" idea is a higher stage of the Helsinki process, its continuation, and upward development. The Helsinki process, the Vienna meeting—in all their uniqueness—without doubt continue the tradition of attempts at more enlightened international relations, and a European peace settlement after military catastrophes. Today this process is taking place on a fundamentally new basis—both objective and subjective—inspiring growing confidence in its ultimate feasibility.

The "common European home" emerges as a category which asserts the norms of international morals and morality, and which views as the criteria for the true

strength of a state its peacemaking, the predictability of its policy, and the recognition of the principle of the supremacy of common human values. I think that in this way, the Europeans would also progress along the path of social progress.

There is objectively only one Europe—united and indivisible. The way to achieve its unity in human, political, spiritual, and economic dimensions lies only through dialogue. And such a dialogue is becoming a sign of the times.

But the thoughts and ideas born of dialogue should also give birth to action. Whether the peoples of Europe—all together—can ensure the just and democratic resolution of the complex tasks facing the continent and humanity, and advance toward times of genuine humanism, cooperation, and fraternity depends on the sincere commitment and efforts of all sides.

A meeting between A.N. Yakovlev and Leonilde Jotti, president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament, took place in Rome today. In a warm and unconstrained conversation, topical problems of the present international situation and the state of bilateral relations were discussed.

## Ochetto Speech Closes PCI Congress

*LD2103203289 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Rome March 21 TASS—The debate on the political report ended at the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) on Tuesday. Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, delivered the concluding speech.

"This congress has laid down the foundations of and determined prospects for the Italian Communist Party's new course", he said. "New policy and new political thinking are needed now to ensure the further progress of humankind".

"We have discussed absolutely new relationship that developed between different social problems, a wide gap between the rich and the poor, the south and the north of the globe, the dilemmas that call into question the security of humankind", he said.

"And we have accepted such novelty as determines a profounud change in the very method of the class struggle, in relations between different systems on a world scale."

"The idea of complete democratisation of society in every area, when it is advanced, the way we do, as the main political goal, a political project in accordance with which political battles are waged not in the outside world but as our daily practice suggests renewal of all the left forces, the socialist party included," he said.

"We have indicated possible roads of resolving the problem of North-South relations, starting with the problem of external indebtedness", Occhetto said.

We visualize a European initiative to work out a common policy in environmental protection.

"We see great importance of the United Nations' new role. We mean the European left forces and all progressive movements when we speak about joint political actions. We point to the need of strengthening the powers of the European Parliament and to determine new scope of the activity of the European executive power. We exert much effort for a speedy advance along the road of disarmament".

"The alternative we propose, the creation of a system that would ensure replacement of different political force in the country's leadership, can help establish new political relations between the majority and the opposition, as well as within the forces forming the ruling majority", Occhetto said.

"Everybody could see that our congress is a congress that declares for the unity of forces interested in making reforms", Occhetto said. "This is certainly a congress for the protection of the idea of the Italian Communist Party.

"It is above all necessary to enable working women and others to appreciate the efforts aimed at changing the rules of our social life so as to open the road to new rights of citizenship for everyone, so as to give life to a new state that would be based not only on parties, but will be a state of all citizens".

"During a lively and concrete debate conducted in a spirit of unity we have been able to show that communists play the leading role in making a turn to new things. PCI thus asserted itself as a contemporary party that is capable of critically assessing the present. We have never sought to conceal or play down the difficulties we face or the seriousness of the situation.

"We have been striving to give the answer in such a way that faith should prevail over inclinations to despondency", Occhetto said. He expressed much satisfaction that the congress has been an important process of the consolidation of the party's unity. "This unity", he said. "Is an achievement. It shows that we are past a prolonged period of self-criticism, disputes, quests and, at times, acute debating."

"The policy, the program that the Italian Communist Party offers the country has become the result of the congress", the PCI general secretary said in conclusion. "We should advance along the chosen road, without yielding to euphoria, without isolating ourselves, and also being confident about our own principles and opportunities", he said.

At the evening meeting the delegates discussed and endorsed changes in the party's regulations that were drafted by the special commission on the basis of proposals made during the debate prior to the congress.

### Official Previews Gorbachev Visit to UK

*LD2203105189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0957 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—There is to be an official visit to Great Britain by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the first 10 days of April this year. What are the aims of the visit and what can be said about the state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-British relations? These were the questions TASS observer Albert Balebanov put to Nikolay Uspenskiy, head of the Second European Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

"I recall the following being said by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher: Relations between the USSR and Great Britain are better now than at any time since World War II," Uspenskiy said. "There are certain grounds for such an assessment. If one takes December 1984, when there was a visit to Great Britian by a Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, as the starting point of the assessments, it is possible to say that since that time a new phase in Soviet-British relations has begun, typified by a gradual transition from confrontation, polemics, and disputes to laying out the threads of cooperation. This process is developing not without breaks or difficulties, but it is under way."

"Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher," The Soviet diplomat continued, "was, in my view, one of the first leaders to understand that a Soviet Union more predictable, more open, and more democratic as a result of restructuring represents a greater interest as a partner for the West and does not bear the threat that some in the West, with or without justification, used to see in our country. However, far from everything in our relations with Great Britain is smooth.

"The main disputed concept is that which concerns the role of nuclear weapons. London stands firmly by the view that nuclear weapons are a boon, that they are necessary, and that nuclear restraint should be preserved as a principle. However we, of course, are convinced that there is no place for nuclear weapons in a civilized world, and that if some framework is to be created for states' behavior toward one another, this should not be a military framework but a moral, political, and legal one which would strengthen the sense of security. But the existence of this disagreement is not an obstacle to the solution of many practical problems: Let us recall that it was precisely Great Britain that played no small role in the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty becoming a reality, for example."

"The Soviet Union and Great Britain are cooperating in working out a convention to ban chemical weapons quite actively and to the benefit of the participants in the Geneva talks", Uspenskiy went on to say. "The business-like proposals on verification and inspection on demand are British. And in the area of conventional armaments, although the talks are only beginning, we also have certain points of contact.

"The whole topic of general European cooperation is to become quite an important sphere of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Great Britian during the coming period. The first major measure will be the information forum which is to open in London on 18 April this year and is to set the task of achieving more open and mutually useful forms and methods of working for the mass information media. Our field of cooperation with Great Britian here is very wide, especially since its information organs are rated quite highly on the European Continent."

The diplomat recalled that, in contrast to past years, the USSR and Great Britain are now cooperating in the UN Security Council on such problems as the halting of the Iran-Iraq war, searches for ways to a Near East settlement, and solution of other regional conflicts, including on some aspects of the Afghan problem, "although here the British have positions diametrically divergent from ours, in particular on the attitude toward the present government of the Republic of Afghanistan and a number of opposition groupings.

"Political cooperation between the foreign ministries of our two countries has recieved notable development. In the past year and a half the foreign ministers of the two countries have met, I think, about 14-15 times, including at international forums, in the course of exchanges of visits, etc. In the last year alone we have had 18 rounds of political consultations embracing practically all spheres, from bilateral relations to basic problems of disarmament.

"Of course, summit talks are always a major event, a reviewing of results and at the same time a laying of the foundations of a new stage in development of relations. In Moscow it is hoped and believed that in the course of the summit talks in London accords will be reached that will help to even further invigorate our relations and remove the remaining negative points. We hope that as a result of the visit these relations will become more stable and predictable and will attain a qualitatively new stage of development," Uspenskiy said in conclusion.

### USSR-UK Consular Consultations Held 17 Mar

*PM2103162189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Accord Reached"]

[Text] London, 18 Mar—Consultations on consular questions between representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the British Foreign Office were held here

on 17 March. The Soviet delegation was headed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister B.N. Chaplin, and the British by D.J. Ratford, assistant under secretary at the Foreign Office.

During the consultations, which were held in the spirit of the final document of the Vienna meeting of CSCE states, accord was reached on signing a memorandum of mutual understanding on the issuing of visas to the citizens of the two countries.

### Glasnost Creates 'Strain' at BBC

*PM2103170189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 3*

[Own correspondent Yu. Sagaydak dispatch: "'Glasnost' at the BBC"]

[Text] London—Nikita Stavitskiy, sports commentator for the BBC's Russian service who left the USSR 6 years ago, has put his foot in it. Deciding that the transformations under way in the USSR required his work too to be restructured, this "historian and journalist," as he likes to portray himself, began larding his radio commentaries for the Soviet audience with expressions and comparisons which plainly went beyond what is permissible. One day he drew a parallel between Mrs Thatcher and Brian Clough, manager of the Nottingham Forest soccer club, saying into the microphone that they are both "dictators and chauvinists." The politically unbridled joke was noted.

But Stavitskiy did not stop there, going further in his epithets, which clearly contradicted his chiefs' notions of what can and cannot be broadcast. He was no longer forgiven for comparing unsuccessful clubs in the top soccer league with upstarts among the present-day Tories who try to rule the roost in Britain and, like soccer ignoramuses, introduce disorder into the game. As a result, Stavitskiy was ordered to find himself a new job, but outside the BBC's Russian service, as well as outside the radio corporation's entire vast office.

"I was punished without a trial," the newly unemployed man told the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

In general, as glasnost spreads in the USSR, the atmosphere within the BBC's Russian service is becoming increasingly strained. The widely publicized conclusions that the radio service' audience has recently begun to grow steadily do not help. They are drawn on the basis of rather dubious basic data obtained as the result of a poll of emigres from the USSR arriving in Britain and other Western countries.

BBC work practice attests to the exact opposite: There are fewer and fewer listeners in the USSR. The reason is obvious: It is now possible to read about everything in the Soviet press, and with details and commentaries which are not available to the editorial board of the Russian service.

Discipline in the Russian service is also being tightened: The bosses fear that the new winds from the USSR may blow the prescribed dose of anti-Sovietism out of the editorial board staffers. I recall something that happened 1 month ago: There was no interpreter at a news conference for representatives of the USSR State Concert Association in the sumptuous hall of London's Grosvenor Hotel. A bright young man, who introduced himself as Alexander, cultural editor for the BBC's Russian service, was hanging about there. He spoke English clearly. Naturally, he also demonstrated a knowledge of Russian. He was asked to act as interpreter.

Alexander smiled shyly and refused. Why?

"You know, someone will think I am helping the Soviets and will inform my superiors...."

"Well, is that forbidden?"

"Not officially, but I have heard that people can be dismissed for such things now...."

## Political & Social

### Chemical Accident in Lithuania; Residents Evacuated

#### Situation 'Fully Under Control'

*LD2203133189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1304 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Jonava, 22 March (TASS)—The situation in the Lithuanian town of Jonava is fully under control. This was noted this morning at a news conference held at the headquarters set up to deal with the accident that occurred on 20 March.

A tank containing 7,000 tonnes of ammonia broke open at the "Azot" production association. A fire broke out, and a large amount of toxic substances was emitted into the atmosphere. Six people died as a result of the accident.

Firefighting and rescue technology was brought in to deal with the consequences of the accident, and a group of specialists and scientists arrived in Moscow. People were evacuated from the town and surrounding villages. A government commission is at work in Jonava. Algirdas-Mikolas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, have arrived at the site of the accident.

In the last 24 hours the fire has been localized, and the emission of toxic substances has been considerably reduced.

#### 'No Panic' After Ammonia Escape

*LD2203143189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Text] An explosion took place at the Jonava production association, threatening the middle of the eastern Lithuania with an ecological disaster. Two people are reported to have died, at the explosion; 41 are injured. Eight among them have received serious injuries. The explosion took place today after 11 am. It is still unknown what caused a depository of 10,000 cubic meters to explode. Two-thirds of the depository was filled with ammonia.

The fire that spread after the explosion was put out after several hours. However, a large quantity of ammonia escaped into open air. The ammonia cloud was blown by the southwest wind over the regions of Ukmerge, Sirvintos, and Moletai.

Right after the disaster, the headquarters of the Lithuanian civil defense notified the people about the explosion and explained all the necessary measures of precaution. Messages were read on the radio every half hour. In the Ukmerge region, the people were ready to be evacuated. Luckily though, the concentration of ammonia did not reach the dangerous level, namely 20 milligrams in each cubic meter of air.

The headquarters of the Lithuanian civil defense report that the environmental contamination is at its worst in places situated 30 km east and northeast from Jonava. Further on, only a flat smell of ammonia can be felt. Vilnius is said to be out of the dangerous zone. The Jonava production association of "Azot" and the people living in nearby areas have been evacuated. Ammonia is lighter than air, therefore it should dissipate rather quickly. Strong wind would be of great help. Reports say that the firemen acted courageously. The fire spread onto the nearby fertilizer warehouse. It was put out quickly. However, [words indistinct] began to smoulder, (?including) poisonous gas. Nothing (?is said) about its amount and the after-effects on the environment.

The causes of the explosion are being investigated. High-ranking officials have arrived in Jonava from Vilnius and Moscow. As a matter of fact, the government production association "Azot" is subordinated to an all-union ministry. It is no secret that this fertilizer plant is one of the most ecologically dangerous plants in Lithuania. Improvement work worth at least R30 million has to be done at the Jonava production association "Azot" in order to stop environmental pollution. The [words indistinct] shop that was on fire today has been working only half of its capacity because of unhealthy production conditions. However, it did not help stop the forthcoming disaster.

According to the latest reports, an ammonia mist could be seen in some of the disaster-stricken regions. There is no panic among the population. Some of them have gone to their relatives living in other places to spend the night. The people are following the safety precautions. All of us are waiting for tomorrow. We hope the danger will subside and more facts will become known.

#### Lithuania Faces 'Chemical Chernobyl'

*LD2203165689 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Text] It's the second day after the accident at the Azot amalgamated enterprises in Jonava, and one could say that Lithuania is facing a chemical Chernobyl. Despite all the efforts, large quantities of nitrogen oxide, which is a strong blood poison, are escaping at the accident site as a result of the burning of nitro-phosphate fertilizers. Six people were killed in the accident, 43 hospitalized, and about 20,000 people from Jonava and several settlements have been evacuated. As we've reported already, yesterday between 11 am and noon, a huge tank containing ammonia burst at the Jonava fertilizer-producing Azot enterprise, for hitherto unknown reasons. As a result, 7,000 tonnes of ammonia escaped. The blast sent the huge vertical tank—about 30 meters in height and diameter—some 20-30 meters away. It tore apart and

crashed. Bursting, the tank broke the safety wall, which would have prevented the escape of ammonia. As a result, 7,000 tonnes of liquid ammonia spilt over a large area. A fire broke out, which soon involved the nearby depot of nitro-phosphate fertilizers.

At first, it was thought that the greatest danger to the environment and people emanated from the ammonia vapors, but it was soon clear that the products released during the burning of nitro-phosphate fertilizers were much more dangerous. The poisonous scarf of white smoke is being carried by the wind to the east and northeast. But this mild wind is rather changeable and at one time it even sent the cloud of smoke to the northwest. In that direction from Jonava lies the big city of Kedainiai, while only 25 km to the southwest of Jonava is Lithuania's second largest city, Kaunas.

Already yesterday, because of the high ammonia concentrations, approximately two-thirds of the Jonava population were evacuated and the rest will be evacuated in case of direct danger. The Jonava hospital has been evacuated too and the residents of villages and settlements to the northeast of Jovava. In that direction lies the city of Ukmerge.

The militia is organizing the protection of the property left behind by the evacuated residents. Part of the residents of Ukmerge have also left the city, though the city is not officially considered to be in danger. The distance separating Jonava and Ukmerge is 35 km. Going by preliminary data, six people were killed in the accident. Four of them have been identified. Those are Russians, permanent workers of the plant. One of the killed is a fireman and one man has not been identified. Forty-three people, some of them injured severely, have been sent to hospital in Kaunas. Today, a representative of the Vilnius blood transfusion station called upon the population of Lithuania to give blood. It was pointed out that especially valuable was the blood of people who had earlier suffered burns themselves as their blood now contains special antibodies. Several of the injured are reported to be in a grave condition. On the other hand, throughout the day there were no reports of any residents of the Jonava District or the city itself having been affected. The main source of concern—both to the specialists engaged in the elimination of the consequences of the accident and to the whole of the population of mid-Lithuania is the continuing fire at the depot of nitro-phosphate fertilizers. Burning there is a mound of fertilizers 14-15 meters high. The quantity is estimated at about 20,000 tonnes, while a iron wall separates them from another 40,000 tonnes.

Attempts are made to extinguish the exothermal reaction with water. It's also thought that it can be stopped by blocking oxygen. Up to now, the firemen have been hindered by the depot's roof, but by evening it ought to have been taken off. Specially trained and equipped servicemen are working directly on the site. It is acknowledged that though protected there is still a certain degree of risk involved. The work is supervised by a commission on eliminating the consequences of the accident. It consists of leading Lithuanian and Moscow officials. Joint consultations are being held, but the Soviet Union's minister of the mineral fertilizers industry, Nikolay Olshanskiy, is having the final say.

In the opinion of the Moscow specialists, the accident in Jonava is unique. There was but one similar accident in the Soviet Union. That time the burning nitro-phosphate fertilizers were extinguished with water. The urgent arrival of the minister and specialists from Moscow is explained by the fact that the fertilizer enterprise is subordinate to the all-union ministry. Today, the site of the accident was visited by First Lithuanian CP Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Vytautas Sakalauskas. Wearing gas masks, they went near the overturned tank and burning depot. They also surveyed the site of the accident from an aircraft.

### 30,000 Evacuated From Danger Zone

*LD2203173189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Now news of the accident at the Azotas association at the Jonava production association in Lithuania. As you probably know, the accident occurred on Monday. So what is happening there now and how is the aftermath of the accident being eliminated? Over to our Lithuanian correspondent (Yelena Kurkletita) who reports from Vilnius.

[(Kurkletita)] Today is the 3d day after the accident. As has already been reported, on Monday at about 1120 at the Jonava Azotas production association an isothermic storage facility containing liquid ammonia broke down. About 7,000 tonnes of ammonia escaped. As the saying goes, disasters never happen alone. The ammonia reached a container of nitro-phosphates [a fertilizer] and a fire broke out, creating a chemical reaction at a high temperature.

Decomposition of the nitro-phosphates is still continuing at the Azotas plant. During this process harmful substances are being given off: oxides. The poisonous cloud extends from the accident site for 50 km in the direction of Kedaynyay [northwest] and changes its direction with the wind. For a distance of 1.5 km from the accident center there are sections where the concentrations of the nitrogen oxides are 20 times higher than the permitted norms.

The population is being evacuated from the danger zone. About 30,000 inhabitants have already been evacuated from the neighboring rayons and settlements. They have been housed in public buildings in Kaunas and other places. It is not yet clear how to stop the decomposition of the nitro-phosphates. Scientists have come to take part in the work; firefighters and special rescue teams

have arrived. The situation is being fought today from the ground and from the air by aircraft in order to extinguish the fire. Unfortunately, there have been victims: 7 dead and 46 seriously injured.

A governmental commission is working at the accident site. Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, have visited here.

The causes of the accident have not yet been established.

**Moscow Deputy Candidates Yeltsin, Brakov Campaign**

### Yeltsin Hailed at Opponent's Factory

*AU2103214389 Paris AFP in English 2112 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 21 (AFP)—Former Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin got a warm welcome Tuesday at Moscow's Zhil car factory—the plant run by Yevgeniy Brakov, Mr. Yeltsin's opponent in parliamentary elections next Sunday.

About 80,000 workers tuned into the factory's internal radio network to listen to Mr. Yeltsin give a three-hour electoral rally attended by some 500 "workers collective" representatives.

Before a packed audience which frequently broke into applause, Mr. Yeltsin launched into a bitter attack on the "200 or so" Central Committee members, such as former President Andrey Gromyko, who continue to cast policy-making votes despite having no other official function.

He denied that, if elected to the new Congress of People's Deputies, he would challenge the leadership of President Mikhail Gorbachev whom he described as "the country's leader."

Mr. Yeltsin is currently the object of a campaign by some Central Committee members to prevent his election to the re-vamped 2,250-seat parliament, the first for which voters are being given a choice of candidates.

At a Central Committee plenum last week, an investigation committee was set up to enquire into Mr. Yeltsin's party loyalty.

Committee members complained that he had deviated from the party line during his election campaign and accused him of advocating a multi-party system.

If the subject of a multi-party system, which is "widely discussed among the (Soviet) society, were to remain taboo for the press, it would lead to an explosion," Mr. Yeltsin told his audience Tuesday.

He then went on to praise Alexandr Yakovlev, "one of the most intelligent men in the Politbureau", in what was seen as a veiled attack against current and former ideology chiefs, Vadim Medvedev and Yegor Ligachev respectively.

Mr. Ligachev, conservative leader within the Communist Party, is widely seen as Mr. Yeltsin's most ardent enemy.

Mr. Yeltsin dissociated himself from an earlier comment by one of his election campaign aides that Mr. Brakov, whose plant provides cars and limousines for party officials, was standing as the "party candidate."

"I consider it immoral for a candidate to attack his opponent. Mr. Brakov is a comrade," Mr. Yeltsin said.

The Soviet Union must refrain from adopting "American electoral campaign methods," he added.

Most workers at the Zhil plant interviewed by the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE said they supported Mr. Yeltsin.

Mr. Brakov is a "good director," but "lacks experience," one worker said. [passage omitted]

### Candidates Set Out Platforms

*LD2203013589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2356 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, March 21 (TANJUG)—The Moscow daily PRAVDA today enabled the two candidates of the Moscow election district for deputies to the U.S.S.R. congress, Yevgeniy Brakov and Boris Yeltsin, to set out their election platforms.

Yeltsin, 58, deputy president of the State Civil Engineering of the U.S.S.R., at the rank of minister, considers that perestroyka and the democratization should bring revolutionary changes to the Soviet society and that efforts towrds achieving them should be made in a revolutionary manner.

Yeltsin considers that the highest legislative body of the country, the congress, should be superior to all government, political and social organisations, including the party.

Yeltsin also considers that central organs should periodically report to the congress and the Supreme Soviet, that a state-legal mechanism should be established which would prevent recidivism of authoritarianism, voluntarism and personality cult.

The elections, according to Yeltsin, should be general, direct, equal, secret and competitive and should also include the election of the president of the Supreme

Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Yeltsin considers that an agreement in principle should be given to the formation of an alternative youth organisation.

Director of the Zil Production Association, the well-known automobile manufacturers, Yevgeniy Brakov, 52, believes that the time has come for concrete, professionally sound decisions that should be energetically implemented.

Brakov believes that guarantees should be ensured for the participation of all citizens in the management of the country, and that reforms for the creation of a legal state should be speeded up. He called for the development of a unique manner of public preparations for and the adoption of laws.

Brakov is convinced that the use of the country's armed forces without a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. should be prevented through legal means. He calls for legislative protection of citizens, enterprises, factories and territories from administrative and other forms of authoritarianism.

Brakov stressed that other programmes should also be developed that will produce more food, develop the light, food manufacturing and processing industry and that enterprises should be given "real economic autonomy" in determining wages. He further maintains that the time is ripe for a reform of the tax policy.

Both Yeltsin and Brakov have on several occasions publicly stated their election programmes, but this is not nearly all that they wanted to say. The elections are less than five days away, and every available opportunity will be used to meet with the Moscow public.

### Statement Published Discrediting Yeltsin

*LD2103145689 Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Excerpts] Passions are running high in the Moscow election district. Here, two men are competing for election to the congress of people's deputies—Boris Yeltsin, former head of the Moscow city branch of the Communist Party, and Yevgeniy Brakov, manager of the Zyl motor plant. Judging by recent developments, the debates over Boris Yeltsin's platform go beyond an election contest. Sergey Goryachev has been following these events. Here's what he finds:

[Goryachev] Last week, a full-scale meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee set up a commission to look into accusations that Boris Yeltsin had breached party ethics and the party rules. On Sunday, the Moscow-based paper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA published a statement by a factory worker and member of the Central Committee, Vladimir Tikhomirov, who said Yeltsin was not a man of such high principles as he would like people to believe. He said that at the national party conference last summer, Yeltsin had publicly recognized the Communist Party to be the political nucleus of Soviet society, but now he was falling for a discussion about the possibility of creatiing a multiparty system in the Soviet Union and subordinating the party to the Soviet. The factory worker also noted that though Yeltsin expressed opposition to privileges for people in high positions, he continued to enjoy a country home and car provided by the government. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, both candidates continue campaigning. Their supporters have plastered city buildings with "vote for" posters. According to the Soviet electoral law, there are no bars to campaigning.

### Editor 'Sure' of Yeltsin Victory

*PM2103120689 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Interview with Viktor Orlik, London editor of SOVIET WEEKLY, by news presenter Nicholas Owen in London on 20 March, following a report on Boris Yeltsin's campaign in the USSR Supreme Soviet elections, monitored in progress in the framework of channel 4 "News"—recorded]

[Text] [Owen] Well, to discuss the importance of Mr Yeltsin's challenge in the forthcoming elections we're joined by Viktor Orlik, who's London editor of the magazine SOVIET WEEKLY. Mr Orlik, Mr Yeltsin claims—perhaps like candidates all over the world—that the media is biased against him. Is he getting a fair press?

[Orlik] Well, it's a difficult question because, um....

[Owen interrupts] Well, is the....

[Orlik interrupts] ...I didn't find a single critical assessment of Mr Yeltsin's program in the Soviet papers. Maybe the papers could be accused of silencing his campaign: That's quite a possibility, and honestly.... But I saw him myself on television about 3 nights before I came to London in his debates with his opponent, and frankly speaking I was not impressed—neither by his performance, nor by his platform and program. I specifically stress this point because the performances of several other candidates were extremely appealing, very interesting and profound, and I believe—it's my personal belief—that it's not just Mr Yeltsin himself but this is the "Legend of Yeltsin" which is now emerging and drawing huge attention, and so on and so forth.

[Owen] But we can see for ourselves that the crowds are there, the people are obviously...a lot of people are in support.

[Orlik] Sure. They are, but....

[Owen interrupts] In support of a poor candidate?

[Orlik] I wouldn't call him a poor candidate, and he's extremely clever in his election campaign. I read in the British and American papers that he was allegedly denied audiences and halls to speak and so on, but he made about 70 public speeches and appearances so far in the course of his election campaign. And again, the man definitely has a personal charisma and appeal and so on, but the thing is that situation in Moscow is not very satisfactory, frankly speaking, and in case the situation were different, I doubt whether he could find such support among the Muscovites.

[Owen] Well, he seems to be getting good support, but attacking privileges, particularly, that's surely a good platform, isn't it?

[Orlik] That's, uh, that's part of the platform: You can't possibly build, you know, um, changes, and you can't bring reforms on one single point. Definitely, he has several very good points, and I don't deny his popularity, as well. But just one thing that I would like to stress is that, um, it's a combination of many things. It's a manifestation, if you want, of nonconformist tendencies and trends in Soviet political life....

[Owen interrupts] It's a big protest vote, in other words?

[Orlik] To a certain extent, yes.

[Owen] And one thing, Mr Orlik....

[Orlik interrupts] Yes?

[Owen] Will he win? Briefly, just one word: yes or no?

[Orlik] I'm quite sure and positive that he will be elected, and there is no doubt about that.

[Owen] Thank you very much indeed.

### Soviets in Nigeria Unhappy With Election Guidance
*LD2201122380*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0530 GMT on 22 March broadcasts a 3-minute report by Correspondent Vladimir Zhurablev from the Nigerian town of Ajaokota, where a metallurgical works is being built with Soviet assistance, and where the most numerous collective of Soviet people working abroad is located. Zhurablev talks about the arrangements being made for the members of the collective to participate in the 26 March Soviet elections. He says: "Organizing elections abroad is a new thing and of course there are many specific points and unresolved questions involved."

The chairman of the electoral commission and director of the school where the children of Soviet specialists study explains that they will be voting in the Pervomayskiy territorial constituency No 18 and the Moscow constituency where Yeltsin is standing. He says: "Materials on these candidates, both their autobiographies and their pre-election programs, are still unknown to us, and in my view all of this agitation work, even if we start on it straight away, will be of a purely formal character." The secretary of the party committee of the Soviet assembly organization in Ajaokuta goes on: "The collective here is quite substantial—some 3,000 Soviet citizens—and of course one of the options would probably be to permit this collective to nominate its own candidacy. In general, there have been no recommendations or advice on this subject. It was clearly stated that we would be attached to one of the constituencies of the city of Moscow where candidates would be nominated, and our job would be just to vote. So that is the situation, which does not satisfy us."

### Academy of Sciences Elects People's Deputies
*LD2103203889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2008 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar (TASS)—At a session of the general assembly of the USSR Academy of Sciences today, only 8 people were elected people's deputies from the headquarters of Soviet science. Twenty-three candidates were contesting the 20 mandates allocated to the academy.

Those elected deputies are: Sergey Alekseyev, a lawyer and corresponding member; Academician Zhores Alferov, physicist; Academician Andrey Gaponov-Grekhov, physicist; Nikolay Karlov, radiophysicist and corresponding member; Academician Oleg Nefedov, chemical scientist; Academician Yuriy Osipyan, physicist; Academician Vladimir Platonov, mathematician; and Academician Karl Rebane, physicist.

In accordance with the law, the nomination of new candidates for the remaining 12 mandates can be carried out no sooner than in 2 weeks. After a further period, required by the candidate to carry out his election campaign, follow-up elections will be held.

### Continuing Support for Possible Sakharov Candidacy

### 'Surprised' Sakharov Not Nominated
*LD2103232689 Moscow TASS in English 2230 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Ivan Ivanov:

There has been no miracle. As many scientists predicted, there will be a repeated nomination and election of USSR people's deputies from the National Academy of Sciences in the weeks ahead. Only eight persons were elected people's deputies as a result of secret voting on Tuesday by 1,279 members of the Academy and representatives of scientific institutes and establishments. As many as 23 candidates competed for 20 mandates allocated for the Academy of Sciences.

The following people have been elected deputies: Jurist corresponding member Sergey Alekseyev, physicist academician Zhores Alferov, physicist academician Andrey Gaponov-Grekhov, radio physicist corresponding member Nikolay Karlov, chemist academician Oleg Nefedov, physicist academician Yuriy Osipyan, mathematician academician Vladimir Platonov, physicist academician Karl Rebane. Each one of them totalled more than 640 votes.

The voting lasted for three hours on Tuesday morning. Then for over seven hours eleven members of the Electoral Commission were counting votes without using calculating machinery. This took place at a round table on the premises of the Moscow Palace of Youth. The table was divided by a broad red band. Ten observers—representatives of electors from collectives of scientists, as well as numerous journalists were seated opposite to members of the commission.

The discussion of the results of the candidates' nomination two months ago went far beyond the framework of the academic circles. These results were broadly debated in scientific establishments, in numerous articles in newspapers and in television programmes.

It came as a surprise for many that authoritative scientists academicians Andrey Sakharov, Roald Sagdeyev, Tatyana Zaslavskaya have not earned enough votes to be nominated. Many scientists who are not members of the academy regard the procedure of candidates' nomination as undemocratic.

There was a clash of opinions as to whether the procedure of candidates' nomination was democratic or not, whether the notion "academy" applies only to its members or to all scientists of its institutes. Also on Monday was the first day of the session of the General Assembly of the USSR Academy of Sciences where 900 members of the academy and also some 550 scientists from institutes were invited.

The debate mostly concentrated on these two themes. All who spoke were unanimous in the opinion that scientists—deputies in the supreme body of state authority should not only pursue the interests of science but should, first and foremost, promote perestroyka and democratisation of Soviet society, intellectualization of the process of making political decisions.

Jurist Vladimir Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, told TASS that the Tuesday elections showed the growth of democratization in the academy and made for more profound understanding between the leadership of the USSR Academy of Sciences and broad scientific public.

Under the law, new candidates to the remaining 12 mandates can be nominated not earlier than in a fortnight. Then the repeated elections will be held, after a period of time candidates need for canvassing. The session of the General Assembly will continue on Wednesday. The names of USSR people's deputies from the academy will be announced and the discussion of the candidatures of new candidates will apparently be made.

## Scientists Propose New Candidacy

*AU2203093889 Paris AFP in English 0930 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—Soviet scientists Wednesday [15 March] proposed human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov as a candidate to a revamped parliament after the Academy of Sciences failed to elect the sufficient number of deputies to 20 reserved seats.

The proposals were put forward on the last day of a three-day general assembly of the Academy of Sciences, attended by an AFP reporter, which on Tuesday [14 March] only managed to elect eight deputies to its 20 seats in the new Congress of People's Deputies.

A second round to fill the remaining 12 seats must now be organised, and nominations made officially to a new electoral commission in no less than two weeks.

"Unfortunately, we note the result, and we have to do more," academy chief Guriy Marchuk told delegates who packed a Moscow university hall.

Mr Sakharov, a rehabilitated dissident, and other advocates of radical reform had been rejected as candidates by the academy's leadership in a secret ballot on January 18, but their supporters among the scientific community launched a campaign in a bid to overturn the decision.

They had notably called on the 1,278 scientists who voted on Tuesday to cross out all the names on the ballot sheet to protest the January decision.

Academy electoral commission chief Vladimir Kotelikov Wednesday read out the results of the elections but did not indicate whether some voters had observed the protest call.

The majority of speakers who took the floor Wednesday put forward Mr Sakharov's name and that of proreform space scientist Roald Sagdeyev. Mr Sakharov was applauded by delegates as he took his place on the front row of the platform reserved for members of the Academy's ruling Presidium.

Other proposals for new candidates included radical economists Abel Aganbegyan and Nikolay Shmelyov. Some names of candidates who were unsuccessful in Tuesday's vote were also put forward. The candidates needed more than 50 per cent of the vote, or more than 640 votes, to be elected.

Economist Oleg Bogomolov said the vote had "set right the injustice" of the January decision.

Mr. Marchuk made it clear that Wednesday's proposals could not be considered as official nominations. "We can't nominate candidates today, only accept proposals," he stressed.

Mr Bogomolov told AFP that he expected the new list of initial candidates could contain about 80 names.

### Sakharov Discusses Academy Elections

*TA2203093289 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Report on telephone conversation with Professor Andrey Sakharov in Moscow, by foreign affairs editor Gid'on Remez, on the election campaign for the new Soviet Parliament; date not given]

[Text] Andrey Sakharov, along with many of his supporters within academic circles, has demanded a second hearing to decide the list of candidates. This follows the decision of the Academy of Sciences administration 2 months ago to disqualify Sakharov's candidacy and that of other scientists who are known reformists. Sakharov's candidacy was proposed in other electoral districts in the Soviet Union, but he was adamant about either representing the scientific community or quitting the race altogether. During yesterday's vote, many members of the academy declared that they would vote against the approved list. Academy President Marchuk said new elections would be declared if the affirmed list were to fail to garner a majority. Sakharov, speaking from his Moscow residence, told us that he cannot predict the results, but hopes that new elections will be called and new candidates will be introduced.

It is important that not only senior members of the academy be mentioned as candidates for the parliament. Scientists from the rank and file, such as those who were ruled out in the compilation of the present list of candidates, should also run for election, said Sakharov. I regard that decision as undemocratic, and it should be revoked. We are facing a difficult struggle.

When asked if he accepts the claim that the Soviet authorities canceled the candidacy of undesirable personalities in all electoral districts throughout the Soviet Union, Sakharov alleged that the authorities undertook reactionary moves throughout the country. Sakharov commented, however, that today the authorities' approach is very flexible and no longer unequivocal.

Sakharov added that there have been several new developments which give him grounds for optimism. There are many contradictions in the situation surrounding the elections, as there are in everything in the Soviet Union today. As the emotional tension rises, the contradictions grow sharper.

I feel that the most important issues to be dealt with are the economy, the ethnic question, and, above all, the democratization process, said Sakharov. Personally, I would find serving in the parliament an immense burden, and I pray it will not fall on my shoulders. My responsibility to the public, however, may force me to accept the post. So says Professor Andrey Sakharov, who is still waiting to hear the academy's decision, following a small-scale revolt by his colleagues in the Academy of Sciences.

We asked for Sakharov's opinion on the public ferment surrounding the revolt by Boris Yeltsin, the popular independent candidate from the Moscow District. Sakharov, without adding any details, said that political struggles should only use political tools.

## More on Election Campaigns for People's Deputies

### Zaykov Speaks to Moscow Party 10 Mar

*PM2103113689 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 pp 2-3*

[MOSTASS report on speech delivered by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, at 10 March meeting in the Moscow House of Political Enlightenment, under the general heading "Struggling Persistently for the Victory of Restructuring: Meeting Between L.N. Zaykov, Candidate USSR People's Deputy From the Communist Party, and Representatives of the Capital's Party and Social Organizations"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

First of all allow me to express sincere gratitude to the party organizations that submitted and supported the proposal to nominate me as a candidate USSR people's deputy from our Communist Party.

The present election campaign is a major step along the path of implementing the political reform for which the concept was formulated at the 19th all-union party conference. The party is approaching the elections with its own clear platform, formulated in the CPSU Central Committee Appeal, firmly and consistently continuing the course of the Central Committee April plenum. And this, as life confirms, is the only way, the sure way, to renew our society, improve the people's life, and achieve stability in relations between states.

The party started restructuring with one goal—that Soviet people's life would become worthy of the great destiny that was determined by our country's history that our people chose in October 1917.

As a Communist and a Soviet person, I believe profoundly in the victory of restructuring. I will use all my strength, knowledge, and experience to this end.

It should be stressed that the vast majority of candidate people's deputies adhere firmly to restructuring positions, to the positions of the party's election platform.

Their programs are permeated by concern for accelerating the country's socioeconomic and sociopolitical development and filled with the sincere desire to speedily improve the whole of our life. The Muscovites' support for realistically-minded, active candidates will act as further confirmation of the irreversibility of restructuring.

Comrades!

The country is going through a crucial stage in the implementation of the planned reforms. We still have insufficient work experience in the conditions of democratization of glasnost, and party, soviet, and economic organs have not yet finally developed a style of activity that accords fully with the tasks of restructuring. We are all learning, learning as we go along. We are engaged in a constant quest. It is important that the party sees the current processes, analyzes them in depth, and seeks and finds ways of overcoming the braking mechanism.

The main results of the first 3 years of the 5-Year Plan are well known. In many sectors of the socioeconomic sphere there are marked positive developments. The party does not exaggerate them, but belittling our achievements and failing to take note of the new developments that have emerged recently in precisely those areas where formerly things were at a standstill is also impermissible.

First and foremost, in the last 2 years the entire increase in industrial production and national income was achieved through increased labor productivity for the first time. The prime cost of industrial output and services fell markedly and the decline in return on capital in the national economy was reduced.

A social reorientation of the economy is taking place in practice. The proportion of national income resources used for social needs was 83 percent in 1988, as against 79 percent under the 5-Year Plan.

In short, positive changes have begun in all spheres of the national economy. But they are taking place far more slowly than we would wish, more slowly than is necessary, and sometimes they are contradictory.

The situation in the economy remains complex. Whereas in some sectors we have managed to progress markedly, in others, people have scarcely perceived any changes. While in individual cases the situation has even grown worse. New problems that were not formerly taken into account have emerged, leading to the stalling of the economic mechanism.

It must be admitted that in a number of areas the reform is suffering from distortions and deviations. And I, as a candidate deputy, will do everything possible to ensure that decisions on vitally important questions are adopted not in haste, as happens sometimes, but after a profound study, and, most importantly, that measures are specified for putting them into practice.

The introduction of the economic reform is affected by the slow growth of wholesale trade and the archaic pricing mechanism. All this retards the wide dissemination of economic accountability relations, and also affects the implementation of an active social policy.

Among the key socioeconomic problems, the most urgent is that of improving the situation in the consumer market. Shortages can be felt in virtually all the main groups of goods. Sometimes even the simplest, most essential goods in everyday demand are in short supply, which causes particular dissatisfaction among the population.

The gulf between monetary incomes and commodity resources has increased recently. Last year the population's monetary income grew, outstripping both plan indicators and the growth in trade turnover. The correlation between labor productivity and wages was disrupted.

The measures adopted by the government will make it possible this year to increase the volume of retail trade turnover by nearly R30 billion. Our country has never before seen such an increase. This should have a positive effect on the balance between goods and monetary income.

In order to eliminate shortages in consumer demand, major structural changes in the economy are also needed. It is planned in the near future to reassign hundreds of enterprises, including some that produce defense equipment, to the production of consumer goods and the processing of agricultural output.

The production of civilian output and consumer goods in the defense complex has already reached 40 percent of the total volume. The Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, consistently pursuing a course of demilitarizing international relations and maintaining our country at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, adopted a decision to reduce defense spending by 14.2 percent and reduce the volume of production of arms and military hardware by 19.5 percent.

This gave the defense sectors of industry the task of carrying out conversion—that is, switching the capacities freed from arms production to the manufacture of output for civilian purposes and consumer goods, which is no easy matter in itself. The equipment used for the manufacture of military equipment, as in any other sphere of production, has its own specific characteristics, and by no means all of it is suitable for the production of civilian output. The retraining of some of the workers is also necessary.

Conversion also involves the cutting of budget appropriations for a number of scientific research, experimental, and design operations in the defense sphere, and the intellectual potential of scientific research institutes and design bureaus thus freed will be used to resolve the most urgent national economic tasks.

The resolution of the Food Program is under special party and government monitoring.

The party Central Committee plenum to be held next week will examine a range of urgent measures to accelerate the development of the agrarian sector of the economy on the basis of the consistent introduction of lease relations, the universal switch to economic accountability, and the drastic reduction of the management apparatus at all levels of the agro-industrial complex.

The resolution of that major social question, pension provision, is very important for us. We need a pension reform the aim of which is to radically improve the position of pensioners, to eliminate leveling in pensions, and to link them directly to people's labor contributions. The drafting of the new law that this reform is to be based on is now nearing completion, and apparently it will be submitted for nationwide discussion this year.

As other candidate deputies, I regard it as an extremely important and urgent step to substantially improve pensioners' living standards, because the moral potential and humanism of our socialist society are defined by how our society treats those who have labored conscientiously for the country's good, as well as the young generation and children.

At the same time as the Law on Pensions, a law on leave is also being drafted. The need for this law is also obvious. The procedure in existence today limits the maximum leave to 15 working days. That is not enough time for a person to be able to have a proper rest, regain his strength, and consolidate his health.

At the same time the much longer leave for many categories of working people bears no real relationship to the nature and conditions of their work and its results. Labor collectives should clearly be given more rights to use additional leave as an incentive to workers for good results in labor, and should decide the length of leave for themselves.

I think this could be done even before the law is published. But to this end the collective must, naturally, earn material incentive funds, linking the decisions adopted to the enterprise's economic indicators.

Thus, comrades, the line of social reorientation of the economy formulated by the 27th congress and the 19th party conference is being adhered to steadily. This must necessarily have an effect in the very near future in greatly boosting Soviet people's living standard and ensuring the unconditional resolution of the three priority problems—housing, food, and goods and services.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin's words that our main policy is economic building are now more topical than ever before. In this context it is of fundamental importance to achieve a political approach to the resolution of economic tasks so that the economy is oriented toward man and serves his needs. This means ensuring the optimum combination of individual, collective, and state interests at all levels of social production and the priority resolution of the tasks that are of the greatest significance for the efficient development of the national economy and the satisfaction of people's urgent needs.

Yes, restructuring caught many people "on the quick" and affected the interests of certain individuals. Indeed, restructuring prompted the resistance of certain groups, first and foremost the bureaucratic apparatus, which forms the backbone of the command-and-administer system both in the economy and in the social structure. Restructuring struck a hard blow against people who are indifferent, accustomed to leveling, and concerned most of all for their own personal advantage and ambition, against incompetent leadership cadres.

Restructuring is a major change in our society's life, and therefore it cannot but involve the clash of views, positions, and assessments. Precrisis phenomena in certain spheres of the economy and social life are so deep-seated that their elimination requires the creative efforts and energy of the entire people, the party, and social organizations.

One of the most important achievements of the changes that have begun is the restoration and strengthening of the party's prestige and the renewal of the forms and methods of its activity. However, the paradox is that the party, as initiator and main integrating force of society, has come under critical fire.

The arguments about a multiparty system that Western propaganda tosses in our direction are becoming a kind of fashion. In this connection I would like to note that, first, parties are not formed on the specific orders of individual political "tub-thumpers." They are the product of the historical development of specific social groups with particular political interests. Second, a multiparty system is no guarantee of democratic processes in society. There are plenty of countries in the world where many parties exist, yet democracy serves a certain class. Today what we need is not discussions about a multiparty system, but the rallying of society on the basis of the ideas of restructuring and the pooling of efforts for a breakthrough in its most important salients.

And the so-called "avant-gardists" are today operating by no means to the benefit of our common cause. Their leftist-utopian sentiments are evidently boosted by a

hefty share of ambition and adventurism. Cunningly juggling with terminology, they seek to exploit the situation to gain cheap popularity.

It is the party's role, as political vanguard, to unite all strata of society in the struggle for restructuring, acting not by force of diktat and command methods, but by force of conviction, by force of example, by democratic methods. The main thing today is not to deviate from the planned goals, to deepen the processes of normalization of the economy, democratization, and glasnost, and to channel the social activeness of all Soviet people toward creative activity.

By improving the political system, enhancing the role of the soviets, transforming the economy, upholding and implementing the ideas of the socialist rule-of-law state, and asserting the principles of social justice, the party seeks to create the conditions for active participation by all citizens in the country's political life and to ensure that every Soviet person has a fitting position in society.

In calling for the laggardness in the population's living standard to be overcome, we must recognize that this can be achieved first and foremost on the basis of a drastic increase in labor productivity. That is why the party began restructuring by defining measures to accelerate scientific and technical progress, the modernization of machine building, and the preferential development of electronics and other basic sectors of the economy. In order to live better, we have to work at the highest world standards. Benefits must be earned. That is, as the saying goes, axiomatic.

But there is something else we must recognize. For decades the working person was alienated from the means of production, all decisions were taken "at the top," while responsibility for them was sent "down." In the long years of stagnation people lost the habit of taking responsibility for themselves. That is why restructuring and the radical economic reform are directed against a system that makes everyone—from the worker to the economic leader—"cogs" in a vast command machine.

One of the main tasks of restructuring is to precisely rip out the roots of bureaucracy, hand over the rights of proprietors of production to the working people, and overcome man's alienation from the means of production in the economy, from politics, and from culture. That is the first thing.

The second thing. We must rid ourselves as quickly as possible of dependent attitudes that literally permeate every pore of the social organism. And this means, incidentally, not waiting for orders and instructions, but resolutely introducing economic accountability, going over boldly to the lease contract system, and cultivating a taste for economics in people; it means resolutely combating sloppiness and laxity; it means strengthening conscious discipline and the highest degree of organization—a key condition of the development of democracy.

And finally, another principled conclusion: While actively and aggressively tackling the collective's urgent problems, it is always necessary to link and correlate them with statewide interests. Only then will our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the greatest gain of October—be strong.

The complex and contradictory nature of the restructuring processes in our country that were discussed above apply fully, and sometimes even more prominently, to our city of many millions.

We discussed in detail the course of restructuring in the capital at the 27th Moscow City CPSU Organization Conference held in January. Later a plenum of the party gorkom approved a plan for implementing the critical suggestions and proposals voiced at the conference. The documents of the conference and the Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum were published in full in the press. That obviously relieves me of the need to make a detailed analysis of the state of affairs in our city's economy and social sphere.

Let me dwell on certain questions of principle that are coming up to some degree in the course of the candidate deputies' meetings with voters and that require additional clarification and critical analysis.

To speak in general terms, the capital's economy is acquiring dynamism and a social thrust. But by no means everything is being done on schedule, and some problems have even become worse.

The main reason for this situation is associated with the fact that the city's party and soviet organs proved unable to evaluate to a sufficient extent all the consequences of the extensive development of Moscow's economy that lasted for decades, when every percentage point of growth took more and more resources, especially manpower. Scientific and technical progress, resource-saving, and output quality may have been proclaimed key factors in economic growth, but were not in fact so. The level of technical equipment of many Moscow plants and factories, including experimental production facilities, and numerous scientific research institutes and design bureaus, is far from up to today's needs, and the equipment installed there is largely obsolete. All this could not fail to affect the resolution of social problems.

The capital has fallen behind the normatives in a number of very important indicators of the development of the social sphere—the provision of doctors, catering and trade enterprises, schools, preschool institutions, and urban passenger transport, especially the subway. No

one could be satisfied with the state of Moscow's theaters, museums, and other cultural institutions, and the number of concert halls is patently insufficient for the capital.

It was hard to predict the full complexity of overcoming the consequences of the former command-and-administer forms of resolving social problems. There is not yet much experience of working in the new way either in party organs or in soviet organs. Sociological research carried out at a number of enterprises in our city revealed people's fear of losing a guaranteed wage, their distrust in the possibility of change, and their desire to avoid an increase in the work load and in personal responsibility.

The causes are too serious to be simply shrugged aside. And they lie in the tenacious habit of thinking that it is the duty of someone "up there" to tackle every problem. Some people at the enterprises still think that the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers should first provide them with equipment, materials, and cadres, and only then introduce economic accountability.

Of course, the development of economic accountability relations is also held back by the shortage of good computer technology, obsolete equipment, and shortcomings in material and technical supply. And at the same time we have many examples that confirm convincingly that the breakthrough comes more quickly the more persistently and purposefully the party organizations and labor collectives introduce the new economic mechanism and economic accountability relations.

The collective of the First Moscow Clock and Watch Plant, even working under the first model of economic accountability, achieved a substantial acceleration of socioeconomic development. In 3 years labor productivity here increased by 42 percent, and the volume of output by nearly 40 percent. And wages increased by 17 percent.

The transition to the lease system is yielding really explosive effects. As a rule, here the output increases by 25-30 percent in a short space of time, with the same manpower. A typical example is the work of the comprehensive team of construction workers led by V.A. Zatvornitskiy. This team was one of the first in the country to go over to the lease contract in housing construction and receive legal autonomy, and is now fully responsible to the working people for the "turnkey" commissioning of housing. The construction workers' productivity has increased nearly 50 percent in the new conditions. The team's wages have also increased.

The most vivid manifestation of labor initiative is to be seen in the cooperative movement. The signs of new times that are to be seen in the cooperative system in the production sphere are particularly important.

Let me cite just one example. A year ago the Moscow Low Voltage Equipment Plant was barely making ends meet. In May of last year the collective went over to a cooperative form of economic management. And productivity immediately increased sharply. Staffing levels were cut by 200. In the time that has elapsed the cooperative plant has succeeded in updating one-half of its output. And when one of its suppliers, the Poti Electromechanical Amplifiers Plant, went bankrupt, the Moscow cooperative paid its debts and took it over.

Last year alone the country's cooperatives produced goods and services worth R6 billion. And more than R470 million in Moscow.

But many distortions still remain in the economic activity of cooperatives, and this creates a complex situation in the city. Justifiably, the Muscovites criticize the cooperatives' high prices for output and services and the unreasonably large discrepancy between the incomes of workers at state and cooperative enterprises, and concern is caused by the trend that has emerged for skilled cadres to leave state enterprises for cooperatives, and also by the low quality of some of the goods sold by cooperatives. There is also outright speculation, and a new phenomenon has emerged—racketeering.

Instances of the cessation of activity by state public catering enterprises and health care institutions and the formation of cooperatives in their place have become more frequent. This undermines the idea of the cooperative movement, which, by creating competition in the resolution of social questions, should promote qualitative changes in the state sector, too.

These distortions are not going unnoticed. Monitoring, including workers' control, of the activity of cooperatives is becoming tougher. The party gorkom is increasing its exactingness toward the cadres responsible for this sector of work, and a system for supplying cooperatives with raw and other materials and equipment is being worked out.

Muscovites have major complaints about the organization of trade in the city. Naturally, the shortage of goods in everyday demand plays a part. But unscrupulous dealers exacerbate the situation by hoarding food products and industrial goods and creating an artificial shortage. The significant increase in offenses, persistent acts of corruption, bribery, and embezzlement must also cause concern.

We await resolute actions from the prosecutor's office and the Main Administration of Internal Affairs, but the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] should also exert a more active influence on the situation in Moscow, especially since the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration of Internal Affairs is now headed by a deputy minister. People's and workers' control and the public should help the law enforcement organs in every way.

Another worrying topic. Muscovites have said many harsh words about the state of our streets and apartment blocks. In winter it is icy roads and snowdrifts, in summer it is the heaps of garbage. Who should combat this disgraceful state of affairs? Of course, Moscow Gorispolkom has the relevant services that are charged with cleaning up the city and looking after the roads and housing. But let me observe that without active attention and zeal on the part of rayon organizations, principally rayispolkoms, it will be hard to change the situation on these matters.

Why does there have to be an accident before they knock down the icicles from the roofs, clean up the sidewalks, and repair entrance doors and landings? I do not think the situation can be changed without the direct participation of every Muscovite in improving conditions in his apartment block and housing district. We must rally the citizens to this cause and cultivate their proprietorial sense.

I would like to propose here as an effective means of cleaning up the housing districts that a family or collective contract be introduced for maintaining apartment blocks and the adjacent territory. Incidentally, that is what they do in Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and other countries.

Now, the housing problem. This is perhaps the most urgent and difficult matter that continues to worry the Muscovites. It is no coincidence that in the course of television debates and at the candidate deputies' meetings with voters the questions that are asked most often are: Is the "Housing-2000" program, approved by Moscow City Soviet, realistic, are there firm guarantees that by the year 2000 every Moscow family will have an individual apartment?

Let me state unequivocally: These guarantees exist. This confidence is based on rigorous calculations that were made before the program was submitted for discussion and approval at a Moscow City Soviet session.

By the year 2000 we have to build nearly 50 million square meters of new housing. That means 16 million in the 12th 5-Year Plan and 17 million each in the 13th and 14th. More. Hundreds of apartment blocks in the central part of the city will undergo a major refurbishment, with complete replanning of communal apartments. While losses of living space will reach 40 percent, we will obtain individual apartments with a total area of 1.75 million square meters in addition to the housing program.

About the five-story blocks. Here, too, the necessary checks and clarifications have been carried out. There are a large number of blocks that do not need major refurbishment. Another group of buildings—with a total area of some 500,000 square meters—will be knocked down and multistory buildings built in their place, while some will undergo major refurbishment. As a result we will obtain more than 1 million square meters of well-appointed new housing. (Incidentally, there is quite a good plan for modernizing apartment blocks of this type, which will make it possible to substantially increase the area of the kitchen and other facilities.)

In order to fulfill such an intensive program, all the necessary measures are being adopted to develop the construction industry and construction materials base. More than R2.5 billion in capital investments is being allocated for these purposes. Capacities created by ministries located in Moscow will be added to the capacities of construction organizations under the Moscow City Construction Committee [Mosstroykomitet].

Add to this the colossal volume of work involved in the reconstruction of the historic center of the capital—and that includes, apart from the repair of residential and other buildings, the complete replacement of sewage systems and other underground pipelines and the replacement of the road surface—and it becomes clear that without the pooling of all the construction workers' efforts and resources and the strict linkage and coordination of work by design, construction, and installation organizations under Moscow Gorispolkom and other ministries and departments, we cannot count on success.

That is why our policy is to create a powerful Moscow City Construction Committee, which should act as Moscow's general builder and be fully responsible for the state of capital construction in the city. In connection with the large-scale tasks facing the capital construction sector and the need to reduce the lead time and concentrate the efforts of all participants in this process on the end result, it appears expedient to transfer contractor design work from the Moscow Main Administration for Architecture to the Moscow City Construction Committee. This will undoubtedly normalize and simplify production and technological links.

As for the role of the Moscow Main Administration for Architecture in this connection, it is expedient to concentrate its efforts on the resolution of problems of the development and formation of the city as a whole and the enhancement of its level of architectural expressiveness. We can no longer tolerate not only the failure to adopt a comprehensive approach to the planning of new housing districts, but also their facelessness and the architectural expressionlessness of apartment blocks and administrative buildings.

One reason for the emergence of all kinds of conjectures about the realism of Moscow's housing program is the discussions about the so-called "quota workers." Everything must be made clear on this matter once and for all.

"Quota workers" certainly must not be brought into Moscow from outside. That is quite true.

But in order to finally put an end to the importation of even minimal additional manpower to Moscow, it is necessary to implement a whole range of organizational and technical measures, dramatically reduce the level of manual labor, eliminate or reassign ecologically harmful production units, and sharply increase the pace of automation and mechanization at the city's enterprises. The workers and specialists freed as a result of these measures (which, incidentally, are very costly) will be able, after appropriate retraining, to be sent to enterprises that currently suffer an acute shortage of manpower.

But all this will take time and large capital investments. We must be clearly aware of this.

But at present, what has happened is this: For the sake of appearances, for effect, totally unsubstantiated decisions were adopted on stopping the use of "quota workers," and they were promptly replaced with "temporary or tour-of-duty workers." And since these workers regard themselves as being only temporarily in Moscow, their output is correspondingly minimal.

Manpower continues to be brought in from other parts of the country by fair means or foul, though on an incomparably smaller scale than before. This applies not only to the giants of the capital's industry, but also to construction organizations and many municipal services, in particular the Moscow Subway Construction Association. Thus in order to accelerate the resolution of the transport problem 45-50 km of new subway lines must be commissioned in each of the 12th and 13th 5-Year Plans, as against 21 km built in the 11th 5-Year Plan. Naturally, in this situation the Ministry of Transport Construction is forced to use the tour-of-duty method of subway construction.

What has already been done to impose order in this matter? On the gorkom's initiative a USSR Council of Ministers resolution was adopted which permits the payment to pensioners working as foremen and workers of a full old-age pension without taking into account the wages paid.

But that is only the first step. It is necessary to move boldly forward—to lift these restrictions from the professions that are necessary to industry, municipal services, the service sphere, and certain other sectors. The gain will be great. This will make it possible to stabilize cadres, and that means it will produce substantial benefits in the economy and improve services for Muscovites.

To achieve the speediest resolution of this question—that is the task I set as a candidate deputy, and I will do everything to bring it about.

We must more rapidly put an end to inconsistency in the resolution of urgent social questions and stop swinging from one extreme to the other. Everything that affects the population's interests should be resolved comprehensively, bureaucratic barriers and obstacles must be mercilessly and resolutely removed, halfheartedness is intolerable here. That is the position of the party gorkom, and it is my position, too, as gorkom first secretary and as candidate deputy from the CPSU.

The adoption of a resolution on radically restructuring the supply of fruit and vegetable produce to Moscow has dragged on intolerably. For the moment the draft document—even after approval in principle by the Central Committee—is, so to speak, "frozen." As a result the campaign to conclude direct contracts between the city's agro-industrial complex and the suppliers of produce is under threat. Our position on this matter, too, is extremely clear: Moscow and Moscow Oblast should be regarded as a single region on questions of food supplies, and the quality of supplies should be the full responsibility not only of Moscow Gorispolkom and the rayispolkoms, but first and foremost of the producers and suppliers of produce and the transport and trade organizations.

In general, comrades, one of the biggest shortcomings undermining the people's faith in restructuring is still the gap between words and deeds.

For instance, a program for the renewal of Moscow's theaters was drawn up in conjunction with the creative unions and a draft resolution was prepared accordingly. But the publication of the document has already been delayed for 6 months, although the state of many of the capital's theaters, museums, and other cultural institutions leaves something to be desired, to put it mildly.

How can we most rapidly rid ourselves of the old disease of trying to make do with half measures even on questions that brook no delay?

I think that very avid weapon, glasnost, should be brought into action firmly. If there is one thing the bureaucrat is mortally afraid of, it is the light of glasnost. But first and foremost we should decisively advance economic accountability, and not only within the framework of individual enterprises or sectors, but on the scale of an entire rayon and of the city as a whole.

It was said at the city party conference that the city and the city rayons could go over to the new conditions for forming the budget from this year, especially since Moscow contributes to the all-union budget a proportion of profit far in escess of expenditure on the needs of the city's economy.

We realize that it will not now be possible to transfer the city to economic accountability in 1989, but from 1990 Moscow and all the city rayons should certainly switch to the new principles of budget formation. Delay has a negative effect on the handover of all rights to the rayons, the resolution of citywide problems, and the linkage of sector and territorial interests.

Economic accountability relations are also incorporated in the new general outline for the management of the city's national economy. The majority of former ispolkom main administrations have become economically accountable associations basing their activity on the Law on the State Enterprise.

Wherever the new economic mechanism has been introduced, economic indicators have improved substantially and the management apparatus has also been cut. Unfortunately some ispolkom subunits are in no hurry to go over to the new working conditions. This applies first and foremost to a number of associations belonging to the Moscow Construction Committee, the Main Administration of Light Motor Transport, and others.

Finally, the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectorial program. Its formulation is virtually complete. We have repeatedly spoken in detail about the program's features. I will only emphasize a few key features.

First, This is not a mechanical compilation of separate programs formulated earlier on various avenues of the city's socioeconomic development, but a fundamentally new, scientifically substantiated document generated not in the quiet of the offices, but, on the contrary, "from below," in the labor collectives under the scientific leadership of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Gosplan. A great many leading and sector scientific research and design institutes were also involved in this work.

Second, the program will enable us to closely link the interests of all sectors and the city as a whole, as well as the interests of rayons and enterprises located on their territory. The main aim of the program is to ensure the intensification of Moscow's economy on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the retooling and modernization of enterprises, including light, food, and processing industry enterprises, and it will form the basis of plans for the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

It is now a matter of implementing the plans and putting them into practice.

It must be said that since the beginning of this year party, soviet, and economic organs have begun to do solid work in the conditions of demarcation of their functions. Party committees, including the party gorkom and raykoms, are learning political methods of leadership, learning to act in conditions of the broad democratization of intraparty work. The conditions are being created to eliminate entirely diktat and pressure by the apparatus on elected organs.

During a check it emerged that this task is not simply new and unaccustomed. The renunciation of old, ingrained dogmas in party work proved difficult for many party workers and party committees. Links between the gorkom and raykoms and the primary party organizations and labor collectives had weakened markedly. As a result party committees and their grassroots components do not always keep pace with events, restructuring outstrips them.

The commissions of the party gorkom and raykoms work timidly and circumspectly. Executive discipline has grown weak, and in some places there is evidence of elementary confusion in the face of the torrent of new tasks. The fact that the party organizations' cadre corps was formed in different conditions also plays a part; it is sometimes difficult for it to renounce the command methods that the people will not accept. Our task is to choose and educate cadres who are competent in restructuring and have mastered political methods of work.

Now that the necessary decisions have been drawn up and adopted in all the most important spheres of the city's life, matters of monitoring and still more monitoring of the fulfillment of plans come to the fore: Whether it is a question of the retooling of light industry enterprises, the implementation of the program for strengthening the material and technical base of higher education in Moscow, or the fulfillment of special resolutions on the development of health care in the capital. And this monitoring will be strict, as restructuring demands. No one will be able to sit it out under cover of widely publicized promises or references to all kinds of factors beyond their control.

The 19th party conference deemed it necessary to form control and auditing commissions in the party. As you know, they will be created in the party after the 28th CPSU Congress.

In view of the fact that control and auditing commissions are called upon to influence the further democratization of intraparty life and ensure reliable guarantees against conservatism, subjectivism, demagoguery, and the influence of personal and incidental circumstances on the implementation of party policy, the gorkom submitted to the Central Committee a request that they should be created right away. And they were indeed created in the course of the report and election campaign, both in the city and in each of Moscow's 33 rayons. We are confident that the control and auditing commissions will help to step up the struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the actions of party and economic cadres and create the conditions for making restructuring irreversible.

These, comrades, are the main pressure points on which I will concentrate my attention as first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, and still more if I am elected to the highest organ of soviet power.

Soviet people believe in the reality of restructuring and are prepared energetically to put it into practice. To justify the party's trust with practical steps—that is how the party sees its role as the political vanguard of society in the Leninist sense.

I think I have the right to declare in your name that the capital's Communists are fully determined—overcoming obstacles and barriers in the path of restructuring and studying and eliminating the causes of difficulties and failures—to progress along the path of the renewal of Soviet society and to uphold their loyalty to socialist ideals through unity of word and deed.

Allow me once again sincerely and wholeheartedly to thank the party organizations of Moscow City and other regions of the country for the lofty trust placed in me in nominating me as a candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

L.N. Zaykov answered numerous questions from participants in the meeting.

### Tours Moscow Neighborhood 21 Mar

*LD2103175389 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Lev Zaykov, first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, discussed specific tasks of accelerating the process of perestroyka, or restructuring, in the capital's party organisations and work collectives during his tour of the Timiryazev neighbourhood.

In frank discussions at workshops of the Lianozovo electro-mechanical plant, workers expressed their approval of the party's course towards the drastic renewal of Soviet society and the fulfilment of decisions adopted by the party March, 1989 plenary meeting.

Speakers stressed the need for greater discipline and organisation and a better order in all spheres. Communist Party members, workers engaged at the enterprise voiced their resolve to repulse those who would like to reduce perestroyka to empty talk and demagogy and spread ideas alien to the Soviet system under the guise of democratisation and socialist pluralism.

Participants in a lively debate at the All-Union Research Institute of Medical Instrument-making raised the question of how to meet more fully the need of the Moscow health services for modern equipment.

A substantive discussion was held at a meeting with party and economic mangers of the Timiryazev neighbourhood. Its participants reaffirmed the aspiration to make a specific contribution to accelerating perestroyka, implementing a political reform and launching radical changes in the economic sphere.

Perestroyka should bring about tangible results in the daily life of the Muscovites, speakers said. They should be convinced of the need for concerted effort and its feasibility.

All work collectives should be more actively involved in the solution of major social tasks, namely the rapid implementation of the housing and food programmes, saturation of the market with commodities and services.

The forthcoming elections to the Congress of People's Deputies are called upon to ascertain most respected and worthy people who will be able to take an active part in implementing decisions of the 19th national party conference and the party's election platform.

It is not accidental that the majority of the candidates are Communist Party members: It was the party that initiated perestroyka and intends to bring it to completion.

The Muscovites will undoubtedly make the correct judgement as to who represents their true interests and cast their ballots for hard daily work and concrete deeds, rather than for demagogic declarations and groundless promises.

### Moscow Candidate on City's Problems

*PM2203153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Interview with Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman V.T. Saykin by Yu. Kazmin and A. Chernyak: "Millions of People, Millions of Problems"; date not specified]

[Excerpts] Moscow—[Correspondents] Valeriy Timofeyevich, you have been nominated candidate people's deputy by the working people of Lyublinskiy Electoral Okrug. What demands have they placed before you as leader of the Moscow City Soviet?

[Saykin] What one hears more and more these days from Muscovites is the word "order." This applies to allocating housing, keeping the city clean, organizing labor and trade operations, and, of course, law and order. I am judging by the meeting of the "Voskhod" Association labor collective at which I was nominated candidate deputy. People are now interested in practically everything—from social justice to ecology. The main thing is that everyone wants to live better.

[Correspondents] At the Moscow city party conference there was strong criticism of economic components and city services. The delegates said that Moscow has begun to lag behind other cities in the country in a number of indicators of life. What is the Moscow City Soviet doing to change the situation?

[Saykin] Yes, a multitude of problems has accumulated in Moscow in recent decades. The city economy is geared not to its own forces, but to attracting manpower from outside. As a result the capital's population has risen rapidly and social provision for the inhabitants has dwindled. I would point out that the general state of affairs in the country was bound to affect the city's life. The increasing shortage of essential goods has caused a massive influx of customers from other cities. Moscow

has essentially turned into a massive department store. Over 38 percent of goods are acquired and taken out of the capital by people from other cities. The "daytime" population of Moscow is as high as 12 million! There is much need for radical change here.

Take public health. There is a massive number of hospital beds in the city, but over 100,000 patients from outside are treated annually in Moscow Gorispolkom hospitals alone, and even more in departmental hospitals. For a Muscovite getting into hospital is a problem.

While possessing an extensive network of enterprises in the social sphere, Moscow is unable to properly provide citizens with the most important types of services. In the past 3 years capital investments in the development of public health have more than doubled, capital investments in public education and consumer services have increased by almost the same amount, and we are now investing 50 percent more in public catering. This year will see an increase in consumer goods production in the city, including goods for children, young people, and the elderly. Moreover, we are trying to link the chance of an improvement in well-being for every working person to the end results of his activity.

[Correspondents] At the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant and other major Moscow enterprises about 40 percent of the work force is temporary. This is the grim legacy of stagnation—solving all the city's problems by extensive methods, while neglecting scientific and technical progress. How does the Moscow City Soviet intend to solve this very acute problem?

[Saykin] PRAVDA readers will know that recruitment of outside workers has ceased for all spheres of the municipal economy. The only exceptions that have been made are subway construction and the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant. But this problem will not be solved by bans and directives. The best way is to introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress in production.

And here are the other labor cadre reserves: A government resolution was recently adopted authorizing pensioners—workers and foremen—to get full pay as well as pensions. Ecologically harmful and inappropriate enterprises continue to be moved out of Moscow. Specific measures are reflected in the "Progress-95" program. It envisages, in particular, the retooling of 76 light industry enterprises. All this, in my view, will enable the capital to manage with its own labor resources in the not too distant future. [passage omitted]

[Correspondents] Valeriy Timofeyevich, Muscovites are worried about the increase in criminal activity in the city by various rogues and swindlers and in the amount of street hooliganism. Yet law-enforcement organs are not using the full force of the law....

[Saykin] Unfortunately, the number of crimes committed in the city, including serious ones, is not diminishing. Unfavorable trends in the structure and dynamics of crime have become more apparent and 70 percent of all crimes are committed for mercenary reasons; two-thirds of those who undergo criminal prosecution are young people, one in five of whom is a minor. Recidivism continues at the same rate and many of the offenders have never worked or studied anywhere. The stagnation period had a deleterious effect on law and order and gave rise to a multitude of manifestations of arbitrary and lawless behavior. This seriously undermined the authority of the law-enforcement organs. Resolute measures were needed to cleanse them, above all the internal affairs organs, of personnel who had compromised themselves.

And although only the first steps have been taken, the situation is beginning to improve somewhat. Discipline has been strengthened in subunits. In the past year Main Internal Affairs Administration subunits have taken on around 4,000 workers, including many Communists. Yet they are still short of more than 2,000. It is evident that people who have recently joined the militia have a poor standard of professional training. There is no doubt that cadre issues, particularly when they apply to law-enforcement organs, especially the militia, must be tackled efficiently. With this in mind, the Moscow Gorispolkom will devote increasing attention to these matters, in order to consistently and persistently transform the capital's law-enforcement organs into effective institutions of restructuring, ensuring that all personnel of these organs are aware of their responsibility in the struggle to establish social justice and the rule of law as the fundamental principle of the socialist rule-of-law state. At the same time, we believe that it is absolutely necessary to elaborate and adopt an entire package of documents determining the status of the rule-of-law state and ensuring the reliable protection of the interests of the state and the individual. [passage omitted]

## Vlasov Meets Rostov Electorate

*LD2103234989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; N. Chebotarev report]

[Text] Comrade Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, has arrived in Rostov Oblast to meet the electorate.

[Chebotarev] Today Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov acquainted himself with Volgodonsk. This town on the shores of the Tsimlyanskoye reservoir is growing apace. The construction of the giant of nuclear machine building, Atommash, breathed new life into the town. In less than 15 years the population of Volgodonsk has grown by approximately tenfold and numbers more than 200,000 now. Just as in any young town, however, Volgodonsk has quite a few problems. The main ones are

the lagging of the building of housing behind the development of the town's industrial enterprises and the slow construction of public, everyday service and cultural facilities. [video shows views of the town and street scenes]

Today Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov visited the Atommash works. [video shows Vlasov, wearing standard red plastic helmet walking along with people outside of the works, followed by scenes inside the works] This enterprise was planned as the main supplier of power engineering equipment for Soviet nuclear power stations. It was also planned for it to be a major supplier of equipment on the world market. Here it is fitted out, as they say, with the very last word in technology. In a short time the workers of Atommash have managed to create a highly skilled labor collective and to get the production of extremely sophisticated equipment going. The reduction in the rate of construction of nuclear power stations in the country has, however, posed some problems for the workers of Atommash. Over the last 2 years it has been noted that capacities have not been operating to the full, and this is happening where there is unique machining equipment. In this situation interdepartmental barriers played a negative part and the sluggishness of the Ministry of Atomic Power. In a word, the workers with whom Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov met had something to say to the future deputy. They did not leave anything for later, but immediately stated their mandates to him. [video shows Vlasov talking to workers, no voice]

## Public Organizations Elect Deputies

*LD2203075689 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The election of USSR people's deputies to the supreme body of state authority from public organisations continues in the USSR. Under the new law on elections, the number of deputies from public organisations will make up one third of the 2,250 deputies of the future Soviet parliament.

As many as 12 public organisations named the people they elected as deputies at forums on Tuesday.

As many as 75 mandates to the Soviet Women's Committee are the recognition of women's political and social role. Among the deputies from the Soviet Women's Committee are women workers and collective farmers, scientists, teachers, workers in the arts, physicians and women of many other professions. They are women of various ages and of 22 nationalities residing in various districts of the country.

Ten people's deputies from among 15 candidates were elected from the USSR Union of Journalists. They include TASS director-general Leonid Kravchenko, chief editor of the Soviet Army newspaper "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" Ivan Panov, political news analyst of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY Mikhail Poltoranin, representatives of republican and local press.

The Soviet Writers Union will be represented in the parliament by prose writers Viktor Astafyev and Valentin Rasputin, chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (THE LITERARY GAZETTE); poet Yuriy Voronov, chief editor of the Moscow literary journal "NOVYY MIR"; prose writer Sergey Zalyguin; Ukrainian writer Oles Gonchar; Moldavian writer Ion Chobanu; Lithuanian poet Justas Marcinkiavicius; Byelorussian writer Vasil Bykov; Uzbek writer Adyl Yakubov; Georgian writer Otar Chiladze.

Five USSR people's deputies were elected from the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and from the Society for Cultural Relations With Compatriots Abroad—Rodina. Among those elected are pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Valentina Tereshkova, president of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship, pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Alexey Yeliseyev, who heads Rodina society, prominent aircraft designer Academician Alexey Tupolev, chief of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Valentin Falin, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and president of the public organisation Scientists and Engineers for Soviet-American dialogue, Konstantin Frolov.

Ten deputies were elected by medical scientists and as many deputies were elected by the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Ten deputies were elected by representatives of Soviet agricultural sciences and the same number of deputies was elected by the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies of the USSR. Five deputies were elected by the USSR Union of Designers. The Bibliophiles Society nominated its only deputy on Tuesday.

At the election of people's deputies from the USSR Academy of Sciences held on Tuesday 23 candidates competed for 20 places.

The elections confirmed as deputies corrresponding and full members of the Academy lawyer Sergey Alekseyev, physicist Zhores Alferov, physicist Andrey Gaponov-Grehov, radio-physicist Nikolay Karlov, chemist Oleg Nefedov, physicist Yuriy Osipyan, mathematician Vladimir Platonov, physicist karl Rebane.

Under the election law, new nominations for the twelve remaining seats can take place only two weeks later. New elections will take place after the expiry of time alotted to each candidate for campaigning.

### Writers, Journalists Elect Deputies

*PM2203151989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Choice Made"]

[Text] The conditions under which the election campaign has been held have confirmed yet again that glasnost and democracy have become the vital atmosphere of our society—an atmosphere of trust and openness. This was stressed at an enlarged plenum of the USSR Writers Union Board held in Moscow on 21 March.

V.P. Astafyev, V.V. Bykov, Yu.P. Voronov, A.T. Gonchar, S.P. Zalygin, Yu.M. Martsinkyavichyus, V.G. Rasputin, O.I. Chiladze, I.K. Chobanu, and A. Yakubov were elected USSR deputies from the country's Writers Union.

A 21 March enlarged plenum of the USSR Journalists Union Board elected as deputies L.I. Batynskaya, A.S. Yezhelev, V.P. Zuykov, L.P. Kravchenko, V.N. Kucher, A.G. Mukhtarov, I.M. Panov, M.N. Poltoranin, N.A. Shibik, and D.Yu. Shnyukas.

Five out of five—those were the results of the election of USSR people's deputies from the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (SSOD) and the Soviet Society for Cultural Ties with Fellow Countrymen Abroad (the "Rodina" Society) held in Moscow 21 March. The unanimity of the participants in the joint enlarged session is understandable—one need only mention the names of those elected: Cosmonaut A.S. Yeliseyev, chairman of the "Rodina" Society Presidium and rector of Moscow's Bauman Higher Technical College; V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the SSOD Presidium; A.A. Tupolev, chairman of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society Central Board and general aircraft designer; V.M. Falin, member of the SSOD Council and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and K.V. Frolov, chairman of the "USSR-Sweden" Society Board and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

As a result of a secret ballot an enlarged plenum of the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies Council elected as people's deputies V.V. Bushuyev, A.P. Vladislavlev, V.M. Vologzhin, I.V. Gorynin, Yu.V. Gulyayev, G.Kh. Popov, A.I. Rusanov, A.V. Stepanenko, V.I. Trefilov, and E.Kh. Tyugu.

### 75 Deputies To Represent Komsomol

*LD2203134289 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Galina Vinnitskaya:

Seventy five people's deputies representing Komsomol, a massive youth organisation, are, perhaps, the youngest group of Soviet parliamentarians who have been elected already by public organisations. Their average age is 30, several of them are 22 years old, but some are older than that, a spokesman for the Komsomol Central Committee has told TASS.

For example, Viktor Sysoyev is 47. The director of the Tambov Regional Pioneers' Palace actively working in Komsomol for over 30 years is well known for his accomplishments in the education of the growing generation. This is why he was nominated deputy candidate and later elected by the majority of votes.

Komsomol deputies include 64 men and 11 women. There are Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Adygees, Maris and Dunganes among them. About half of them have a higher education and three deputies have a scientific degree. The rest have a secondary education. The deputies are people of various professions—turners, steel-makers, miners, farmers, engineers, scientists and cultural personalities. There is even a cooperative worker.

The Komsomol deputies representing 36 million members of that public organisation were given a number of instructions by their electors. Aside from active participation in perestroyka, they were instructed to tackle specific youth problems and especially to work for the adoption of the law on the youth.

Under the new Soviet election law which gave public organisations one third of seats in the supreme body of state power, 750 out of 2,250 deputies will be elected not by the population, but by various public organisations in accordance with the quotas assigned to them.

### 'Elections Without Choice' Pondered

*PM2103163589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Correspondent G. Dildyayev report under the rubric "Preparing for Elections": "The First and... Only Ones?"]

[Text] Kazakh SSR—"I ask for my candidacy to be withdrawn from registration"—many people were more than just puzzled by this more than surprising request to the okrug electoral commission by A. Khristenko, director of the Karaganda Agricultural Experimental Station. The okrug now has just one contender for the deputy's mandate—Party Obkom First Secretary V. Lokotunin. Thus 17 party obkom first secretaries in the republic face no competition in their okrugs. Really, what a strange monopoly on the electorate's votes! Who was the last one to pull out of the fight?

Aleksandr Fedorovich Khristenko is well known in central Kazakhstan. One of the original virgin land pioneers, he boosted numerous laggard kolkhozes. Many people

are impressed by his character and the boldness of his opinions. He has written for PRAVDA on numerous occasions. He outlined his interesting platform at the okrug election campaign meeting passionately and convincingly. He said in particular that, should he be elected people's deputy, he would insist on the complete eradication of the pseudodemocratic ruse of single-candidate elections.

A. Khristenko won the required number of votes and accepted congratulations and voters' instructions. A few days later the newspaper INDUSTRIALNAYA KARAGANDA published an announcement by the okrug electoral commission which said, in particular, that, in justification of his request that his candidacy be withdrawn, A. Khristenko "declares that he sees no point in further contesting the deputy's mandate since he failed to fully evaluate his own energy and potential...."

In his turn, Valeriy Ivanovich Lokotunin made a statement to the effect that he sees nothing blameworthy in A. Khristenko's decision, that it is not against the law, and that anyone can withdraw a candidacy even as late as the day before the election. As regards sundry conjectures, you simply cannot legislate against people talking....

Indeed, there has been no actual breach of the law. But, whether wittingly or unwittingly, the first secretary has been done no favors. Has there been an improvement in the chances of the okrug's sole remaining candidate? After all, it is by no means usual for a contender to pull out of the contest after a successful okrug meeting.

"Valeriy Ivanovich, what if you had supported the candidate who doubted his strength and had talked him out of this—bluntly speaking—strange decision? It seems to me that this would not have diminished your chances of being elected and would not have given those who, as you say, love to read between the lines any grounds for gossip."

"It did not cross my mind."

And so all first secretaries of Kazakh Communist Party obkoms are registered as candidate deputies. This fact can only cause joy: Apparently party leaders are perceived as people who can also cope with a deputy's burden. But this is not true in all cases. For example, while K. Boztayev and Ye. Yezhikov-Babakhanov, first secretaries of the Semipalatinsk and Dzhezkazgan party obkoms respectively, gained the upper hand in open and hard fought contests with worthy contenders, convincing voters of the soundness of their programs, many other cases produced the following refrain: "I have realized that the party obkom first secretary has a better grasp of the oblast's problems, and therefore I am abandoning the contest and suggest that everyone votes for him."

I spoke with many of those who "abandoned the contest." Here is an interesting point: They all spoke about it with a sense of satisfaction, of having performed their duty. We realized, they said, that the first secretary must be the candidate deputy, and we got out of his way. They make no secret of it: They were prompted to make this decision, albeit surreptitiously, by party apparatus officials.

It is only natural for the "team" of a secretary who is a candidate deputy to include some apparatus officials. But they must be especially scrupulous in their actions to prevent campaigning for the secretary from turning into instructions in the name of the party committee. There are, alas, such cases.

The candidate deputies registered in the capital's No 613 Electoral Okrug were V. Romanov, first secretary of the Alma-Ata party gorkom; T. Kangereyev, chief engineer at the electric rail car repairs plant; and A. Safonov, chief of the "Alma-Atinskiy Domostroitelnyy Kombinat" Production Association. I agree with many of Alma-Ata's voters: They all deserve to be elected deputies. As fate would have it, however, they were standing in the same okrug, and so victory would go to the strongest. The candidates launched their election campaigns, holding meetings with collectives, taking part in television debates, and giving interviews. Suddenly, A. Safonov contacted the PRAVDA correspondent's office:

"I was summoned to the party obkom and was persistently advised to withdraw my candidacy. That was even before the okrug meeting. Having given it some serious thought, I refused. Otherwise how would I have been able to look the people who nominated me in the eyes? Now the city raykoms are up to their apparatus games—they are telling people who to vote for...."

"Here is our protest, listing all these actions," the candidate's agent S. Abdrakhmanov added. "We sent it on to the Central Electoral Commission. Is the party gorkom first secretary aware of all this?"

"Of course I don't know, nor do I wish to know, about any 'games,'" V. Romanov replied. "Furthermore, I have asked officials of the gorkom and the raykoms to be meticulous and restrained. I feel quite confident on the eve of the elections, I regularly meet with people, and I am conducting my campaign using all means and methods permitted by the law."

Let me dwell on just one letter from the voluminous mail about the elections of people's deputies received by the PRAVDA correspondent's office in Kazakhstan. In my view, it raises most fully some most acute questions on the theme of "The Party Committee and the Elections." Its author, Pavlodar miner R. Khaliulin, writes: "The party's prestige, which was exceptionally tarnished in the past, is now being restored by a new generation of party cadres and also by those members of the old guard who perceive restructuring as a cause in which they can invest in full the energy of their second wind, as it were. And you PRAVDA people must more frequently write about such people and help them to succeed in their election

campaign. Yes, we do have a quota from the CPSU, 100 people, but they are not all party officials. And yet, whenever I read the newspapers or see television reports about the harsh and at times even cruel way party committee secretaries are treated at okrug election meetings, I feel sad: After all, they do represent our party, which launched restructuring and opened the floodgates of democratization and glasnost."

The old Communist is right. PRAVDA has written about leaders like Obkom First Secretaries M. Sagdiyev from Kokchetav (recently elected chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Presidium), A. Kulibayev from Guryev, A. Braun from Tselinograd, and many other party officials. They do not lack prestige. It has been gained primarily through their ability to exert specific and tangible influence on people's lives, to make their diet richer, to accelerate the allocation of housing. I have no doubts that, come 26 March, the majority of voters will cast their votes for these secretaries who are candidate deputies.

But is the prestige of party officials enhanced by props in the form of their rivals' ostentatious abandonment of the struggle and toadying hustling by the apparatus? I pondered this question at length with Ye. Yezhikov-Babakhanov, first secretary of the Dzhezkazgan party obkom.

"Believe me, my emotions at the okrug election meeting were certainly not all positive—a contest is a contest, after all. But seeing yourself through your rivals' eyes and hearing other things about yourself rather than just praise can be most useful. The experience I and my rivals have gained in political struggle is also invaluable. This really is an asset, yet we are scorning it. Honestly, I would not have been as pleased had I been standing in a so-called 'single-candidate' okrug. I believe that party committee secretaries who are also candidate deputies must without fail go through the crucible of 'election with choice.' This will not diminish anybody's prestige but will only enhance it."

And here is the opinion expressed by K. Tyulebekov, first secretary of the Alma-Ata party obkom:

"I was not happy with my rival's decision when he withdrew his candidacy. I spent a long time trying to talk him out of it. But alas...."

Are we really going to gain any benefit if we vote for, say, a worker simply because he is a worker or for a secretary simply because he is a secretary? Our parliament needs people capable of thinking and acting in a statesmanlike manner, and it does not make the slightest difference if they are workers or secretaries, academicians or steelworkers.

...In the statement of refusal to be registered as candidate deputy sent to the electoral commission, the experimental station director and the collective which nominated him asked that the first secretary of the Karaganda party obkom add to his own program the weightiest proposals contained in A. Khristenko's program. It will be interesting to see whether V. Lokotunin, should he be elected deputy, will fight to ensure that there are no more elections without choice?

## Deputies' Group on Delimitation of Powers Meets

*PM2103153289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Deputies' Group Session"]

[Text] On 20 March in the Kremlin a session was held of the deputies' working group that, on the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has drawn up proposals for the delimitation of powers of the USSR and the union republics, with a view to the radical expansion of the rights of union republics in the spheres of state, economic, and sociocultural building and the enshrinement of these rights in legislation.

Scientists and specialists in various sectors of the economy played an active part in the work of the deputies' group to draft these proposals.

The main attention was devoted to the formulation of proposals on further improving the constitutional legislation of the USSR and the union republics, taking into account the draft General Principles for Restructuring Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of the Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing.

There was a detailed discussion of the principles on which the delimitation of the rights of the union and the republics should be based in order fully to ensure the real harmonization of ethnic relations and the functioning of a strong center in the shape of the USSR and strong union republics possessing the necessary powers for the control of natural resources, management in the sphere of the economy and sociocultural life, and the resolution of questions of state legal building.

The session was conducted by G.S. Tarazevich, leader of the deputies' group and chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took part in the session.

## Yakovlev Interviewed on Restructuring, Plenum

*PM2203093889 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 19 Mar 89 p 6*

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, by Giulietto Chiesa in Rome; date not given]

[Text] Rome—Yakovlev liked Occhetto's speech and he said so frankly: "It was very serious, frank, and Marxist. It was based on clear ideas. Moreover, the audience

showed that they understood it. I found in it ideas which require close attention. For instance, how should we now understand the idea of progress? What are its limits? How can it be reconciled with many crucial problems of our time, especially the protection of the environment? These are questions which cannot be avoided. Raising them is a sign of great responsibility.

[Chiesa] In his speech, the Italian Communist Party [PCI] secretary general praised restructuring several times and expressed the hope that it will succeed. There is therefore a new sphere for discussions....

[Yakovlev] Yes, I do not doubt that. There are problems on which joint discussion is useful. Occhetto did not show any sign of having changed his mind about the long-term objective. Neither have we: It is to build a society based on social justice and harmony in which the people's control is exercised over all the development processes. We have and will continue to have major problems to solve along this path. However, we are still optimistic. We are seeking our way. We are now clear about the things we must reject. But however difficult it is, rejecting is easier than proposing. Gorbachev's report to the recent plenum was one example of a quest, of artificial pressure [as published] on the course of events.

[Chiesa] It is a difficult struggle, as the plenum on agriculture demonstrated.

[Yakovlev] We have realized that it is neither fair nor useful to force the development of events and to exert artificial pressures. We have given the peasants the opportunity to choose between various forms of land ownership. Of course, in our country, any innovation raises questions: Is this socialist or not? This is still an open question. But I think that it is inappropriate from the methodological viewpoint. There was a time when it was thought that what was socialist and what was not could be established in abstract terms. On the basis of fixed models, in fact. And we eventually created apathy, political and social indifference, egoism and moral deformations. The conditions in which we placed people prompted those reactions. I think that it is men and their aspirations which should decide what is socialist and what is not.

[Chiesa] Europe's process of integration and the progressive forces which are at work in it, were two crucial subjects of the report. How do you view these problems?

[Yakovlev] I agree with Occhetto. The unity of all left-wing forces is crucial. I would say—as Occhetto did—that we should go even further. We should seek agreement with all reasonable forces which are looking at the situation in the world today.

[Chiesa] You recently wrote that "making progress and developing is only possible on the basis of diversity." The context was that of economic reform but it also applies to politics. It implies acknowledging that multifarious contributions are vital.

[Yakovlev] We just need to avoid being bound by fixed models. One of these consists of thinking in terms of rigid coalitions. On the other hand, it is possible to reach agreements on various matters which differ in scope and content. For instance, the scope of alliances will be broader when it comes to talking about saving mankind. It will be more fragmented when it comes to discussing the interests of social groups. In short, we need to be flexible.

[Chiesa] Am I right to conclude that now that the age of international communist party conferences is over, an era is starting in which all these matters can be discussed more effectively?

[Yakovlev] I would not be so categorical in saying yes or no to meetings among communist parties. Why should we rule out meetings on some subjects? For instance, why not jointly examine the matter of the common European home? Of course, in present conditions all are equal, and there are no organizational constraints. But I would not be bound by fixed models. We were at one time. The form in which discussions took place was often more important than the content. However, now the latter are more important.

[Chiesa] What is the cause of restructuring's problems?

[Yakovlev] They are economic and stem primarily from the burden which we inherited—financial and production imbalances which are the result of a long "technocratic vacuum" in which production was an end in itself and people disappeared from the planners' horizons. We have an enormous amount of money seeking goods. We are producing more goods than before but they are disappearing more rapidly than before. And this is only one of the economic problems. There are also political problems. It is impossible to have restructuring without democratizing society. This means that the people must be able to control what happens. But there are people who remain powerless and are unable to adapt to the new situation. It is a fact that it can be a great upheaval for social groups and for individuals.

[Chiesa] Your democratization is taking place in a one-party system. How long will this continue?

[Yakovlev] I ask you: Do you like the American two-party dictatorship? I have studied the Democratic Party and the Republican Party programs at length. Can you see substantial differences between them? I do not see any either in foreign policy or domestic policy. Do you

think you are 13 times more democratic than America because you have 13 parties? I think that every situation has its characteristics and that models cannot be exported.

[Chiesa] However, in building a state based on law, you accepted a classical principle of Western democracies—the separation of powers.

[Yakovlev] That is true. And I think that we will follow this path. And we will continue with glasnost. I must tell you that I now find it more interesting to read our newspapers than American newspapers.

[Chiesa] Why is Boris Yeltsin so popular?

[Yakovlev] This is a phenomenon which really must be studied. Why do people believe him? It is because he condemns the right things. But so do we. However, he does not have a real program. Some of his proposals are sensible, others are crazy. He thinks that he is in favor of restructuring, but he does not have a clear view of the situation. He does not understand that artificially speeding up events ultimately slows them down. And, I can tell you that in Russia people love icons. He was insulted and people felt sorry for him. However, this is another symptom of our problems.

### Consumers Cooperative Congress Continues Discussion

*LD2103130889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0805 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The 12th congress of the USSR Consumers Cooperative movement continued its work today in Moscow's Grand Kremlin Palace. Discussion is proceeding in a businesslike atmosphere on specific ways and means of furthering the restructuring of the work of the consumer cooperative movement on democratic principles and on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, in the interests of our society.

The state of trade, procurement, and production in the countryside is being discussed in a self-critical fashion in the debates on the progress reports by the Central Union of Consumer Cooperative's Board and Audit Commission, while mention is being made of the need to make the consumer cooperative movement an effective means by which to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, and to resolve the burning tasks of raising the prosperity of the Soviet people and improving their living conditions.

The delegates and visitors applauded the arrival of Comrades Vorotnikov, Ligachev, Slyunkov, Lukyanov, and Talyzin. Also in the presidium are Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, high-ranking officials from the CPSU Central Committee, heads of ministries and official departments, and frontranking workers from the consumer cooperative movement and agriculture.

### Slyunkov Chairs Socioeconomic Policy Commission

*PM2103143989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "On a Session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Socioeconomic Policy"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Socioeconomic Policy, chaired by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was held 17 March.

The commission discussed the basic avenues for improving pension provisions. The session noted the great sociopolitical importance of this question which affects the interests of tens of millions of Soviet people. It pointed out the need to step up social guarantees for working people, improving the material situation of all categories of pensioners, raising the amounts of pensions paid, linking them more closely to personal labor contribution and length of work service, and the formulation of standard approaches, principles, and norms for pension provisions for workers, employees, kolkhoz members, and cooperative members.

The commission examined the financial aspect of the question. It was emphasized that the necessary funds can and must be found through intensification of the national economy's development, consistent implementation of radical economic reform, and enhancement of labor productivity. The new methods of economic management will considerably expand the opportunities for using enterprise funds to improve pension provisions for working people.

The commission deemed it expedient to instruct the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the AUCCTU, jointly with CPSU Central Committee departments and the ministries and departments concerned—taking into account the discussion which took place—to study various options and proposals for further improvement of pension provisions and take them into account when working on the new draft USSR law on pension provisions for working people.

The commission discussed the basic guidelines for its activity in the immediate future and approved a work plan for 1989.

The commission's work will focus mainly on the elaboration of political methods for implementing socioeconomic, scientific, and technical policy and on backing

for the party's course toward the economy's social reorientation. An examination of the basic objectives and avenues of social and economic development during the 13th 5-Year Plan and through the year 2005 is envisaged. It is planned to analyze the efficiency of investment policy and the restructuring of management and the economic mechanism in the construction industry. One of the most important avenues for the commission's work will be to examine fundamental questions concerning the radical improvement of the ecological situation in the country and the rational utilization of natural resources. It was recommended that the proposals made during the discussion of questions at the commission's session should be taken into account when working on the concept of the USSR's economic and social development in 1991-2005, and also on long-term and annual plans.

The commission will give special attention to a systematic analysis of the progress of economic reform, the improvement of the management of scientific and technical progress, and the creation of an effective mechanism for foreign economic activity. Proceeding from the fundamental importance of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress for the acceleration of their economic development, it was deemed expedient to study how Soviet organizations are implementing agreements reached with fraternal countries on updating the comprehensive program and the creation of a new collaboration mechanism, and to give a fresh impetus to this work.

Much space in the commission's plans is allocated to monitoring the fulfillment of CPSU Central Committee decisions concerning the entire package of socioeconomic problems. There will be thorough analysis of the processes of improving the economy's financial health, establishing normal monetary circulation in the country, and restructuring economic relations in the countryside in the light of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum demands. There was confirmation of the special political importance attaching to nationwide discussion of the general principles of restructuring the leadership of the economy and the social sphere in union republics on the basis of expansion of their sovereign rights, self-management, and self-financing. The incipient discussion of these principles should become a powerful driving force for utmost improvement of the state of affairs in the country's national economy.

The session was addressed by: I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social problems; A.G. Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom; USSR Minister of Finance B.I. Gostev; Ye.A. Yeliseyev, first secretary of the Kabardino-Balkar CPSU Obkom; A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Minsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom; G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom; A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; A.M. Korolev, leader of a lathe operators' team at Uralsk's S. Ordzhonikidze Heavy Machine Building Plant; AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev; Leningrad Gorispolkom Chairman V.Ya. Khodyrev; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR Gosplan chairman; USSR Minister of Health Ye.I. Chazov; Ye.A. Brakov, general director of Moscow's I.A. Likhachev Automobile Plant; V.G. Kolesnikov, USSR minister of the electronic industry; and A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development.

### Vlasov, Baklanov Attend Moscow Workers' Meeting

*LD1803112789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow today devoted to the day of workers in retail trade, consumer services, housing, and public utilities. For the first time, workers in these sectors are marking their professional holiday jointly. In the Presidium were Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; the heads of a number of ministries and departments; scientists; production frontrankers; and representatives of the capital's public.

### Estonian Front Spokesman Addresses 24 Feb Ceremony

*PM1703113189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 3*

[Speech by E. Savisaar, representative of the Estonian People's Front Board, at 24 February Toompea ceremony marking Estonian Independence Day: "Step on the Road to Sovereignty"]

[Text] Today is the 71st anniversary of the 1918 democratic revolution and the formation of a republic in Estonia. At a time when most of our neighboring small peoples still thought that they had a secure future under the wing of a monarchy, the Estonian people made a bold decision and proclaimed a republic, a sovereign and free state. Democratic laws that were an example to many others were established in this republic; people were given land, and a multiparty system was in operation that rapidly transformed the people into a politically literate people. And when neighbors—in both east and west—wondered whether to recognize our independence or to oppose it resolutely, our grandfathers were able to defend their ideas, their independence, and the young republic.

In principle even today the only flag that can symbolize Estonia's statehood is the blue, black, and white flag. But Estonia's statehood essentially still does not match up to the idea of the blue, black, and white flag. One indication of statehood is sovereignty, or the right to adopt a final decision independently—not merely a proclaimed right, but a real one. However, let us admit that in recent months halfhearted and essentially contradictory decisions have been made, let us admit that real changes are still in no hurry to begin. Despite the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's 16 November declaration, our sovereignty is still not standing very firmly on its feet. Only once real sovereignty has been achieved at last will no one any longer doubt that the blue, black, and white flag is the only one that can be the symbol of Estonia's statehood.

The hoisting of the national flag on the Pikk Hermann tower is also a step along the road to sovereignty; it shows that we are masters of our land and we do what we want here; it shows that we are masters of our history—an integrated whole with history—and we know where we came from and where we have arrived. In the past decades attempts were made to make us forget ourselves and to transform the Estonians into a people without history. For us the hoisting of the flag was like finding ourselves. We have won a moral victory! And while last fall we said that Estonia is in our hands, while now we are gradually beginning to believe that the government, too, can be in our hands, today we have hoisted this flag as a flag of struggle, and we say that beneath this flag next fall we will place Estonia's parliament, too, in the hands of men elected and empowered by the people. The People's Front reaffirms that its line on this question is unswerving.

We are building a new Estonia. This Estonia cannot face the past; it always looks only to the future. In hoisting the flag, we are demonstrating that we are Estonians. But the thought voiced back in 1905 by the Young Estonians is equally important: We will be Estonians, but we will become Europeans. Today the time has come to go further, via Europe, and become citizens of the world. It is there that we want to carry our flag!

For decades the Estonian flag was in disfavor with the official authorities. Dozens, if not hundreds, of court cases were instituted and sentences passed regarding the use and display of the blue, black, and white flag. This was done both in the seventies and in the eighties. People were taunted because of the flag and many young lives were wrecked. If we want to be honest with our conscience today, we must demand a swift review of all such court cases and rehabilitation of the victims.

Yesterday another flag, one that was not honored among the indigenous nation, was lowered on the Pikk Hermann tower. We must sincerely admit that the goals that were set when this flag was hoisted and were loudly proclaimed to the people have not been achieved, and we must review the whole path we have traveled.

Our flag is unusual in that there is a color missing from it—the color of blood and vengeance, which features on the flags of many peoples. This shows that we do everything calmly and in a considered fashion and that we intend to achieve our national goals not by violence and blood but over the course of many years, in a peaceful succession of generations.

The colors of our flag are blue, black, and white. These colors link history with the future and unite our people. Today their significance has changed and expanded in many respects by comparison with 1918. The color black now symbolizes not only the earth that feeds us but also mourning for all who have suffered for the motherland, who remained in Siberia, who died in Stalin's camps or Hitler's, and also for those whose graves are far from home, across the ocean, because they, too, would have liked to have been buried in their native land. The color blue—the color of earth and sky—now also demonstrates the constancy of our desire for freedom and shows our determination to enter a much wider world. Only white—the color of purity—has remained the same, and demands that we indeed cleanse ourselves of all the filth of recent decades, doing so fearlessly, with our eyes open, step by step, surely and steadily.

We know what a heavy burden we have shouldered, we know how long is the path that we must travel, so let us follow our forefather in saying: "Lord preserve the land of Maaryamaa!"

## Estonian People's Front Leader Interviewed

*PM2103154489 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 19 Mar 89 p 11*

[Report on interview with Estonian People's Front leader Lembit Koik by Matts Dumell: "Against the Last of the Stalinist Mohicans"—date, place not given]

[Text] "We are continuing to work for total independence. We want to be part of the new Europe that will be created in the early nineties.

"Our opponents in Interdvizheniye are the last of the colonialist and Stalinist Mohicans. They are used to having things as they were before," said one of the Estonian People's Front's executive board members, chief editor Lembit Koik.

The People's Front is led by seven executive board members. Those who were not in Stockholm or Helsinki gathered for a meeting hours before the Russian-speaking Interdvizheniye assembled for a show of strength a mere 250 meters away.

"The Russians and other 'foreigners' who have moved to Estonia are rootless. They come from over 100 different nationalities in the Soviet Union and they cannot understand our Estonian cultural endeavors.

"They are a relic of Stalin's and Brezhnev's period of stagnation; they are totally monolingual."

Koik is a lawyer and chief editor of a local Estonian legal journal. He is definitely no cautious county judge. He is more or less furious at Interdvizheniye's opposition.

"The Russians still think that they brought real culture with them to Estonia in 1940 and that they taught us how to sing.

"Us? We who have a centuries-old tradition of song festivals!"

Koik told me how he was debating with a U.S. professor who alleged that the Estonians are trying to push a minority out of their republic. For 3 hours Koik explained his views, but the sociology professor did not understand. Finally Koik asked whether the professor played chess.

"More or less," the American replied.

"But I am a first-class player. What interest do you think I would have in playing chess with you? I might at most consider a game of cards. It is the same with us and the Russians. We have had a democracy and we belong to Europe."

Koik said that the professor suddenly realized what he was driving at.

"Interdvizheniye is led by the Russian factory managers. They order their workers to take part in demonstrations. The workers do not dare stay away, because then they would lose their bonuses and would not receive the housing they have been promised for next year, and so on," Koik claimed in all seriousness.

"The truth is that the Russians in this country live as parasites. We want to put an end to colonialism. It is important to be a realist and take things step by step."

Koik said that the People's Front is waiting for the 50th anniversary of the Ribbentrop pact, agreed between Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939. The People's Front considers that the pact is the foundation for the Soviet Union's presence in Estonia.

"We already have a language war in Estonia and it is possible that the situation will deteriorate further.

"But we will not retreat a single step!"

Last week the Interdvizheniye movement marched through the streets of Tallinn; next week it is the People's Front's turn to mobilize its supporters.

The 40th anniversary of the first deportation of Estonians to Siberia falls on 25 March. In total perhaps 50,000 Estonians were deported; no one knows the exact figure.

Those who never returned and those who succeeded in surviving will be remembered in all the provinces of Estonia 23 and 25 March.

"We are convinced that Interdvizheniye is led by dark forces. The next few weeks will be critical, but they will not decide Estonia's fate. Interdvizheniye can stop democratization only by calling in the army. They have said that they do not fear it...."

### Estonian 'Interdvizheniye' Leader Interviewed

*PM2203093289 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 19 Mar 89 p 11*

[Report on interview with Estonian Interdvizheniye leader Viktor Kiemets by Matts Dumell: "Autonomous Republic for Russian Speakers"—date, place not given]

[Text] "If the Estonian Government continues to ignore us, we are ready to create our own autonomous republic in Estonia.

"It could embrace the regions in northeastern Estonia, including Narva and Kohtla-Jarv, where we Russian speakers comprise 70-94 percent of the population," said Viktor Kiemets, the rising star in the Interdvizheniye firmament.

He differs from his colleagues in the movement in that he speaks Estonian. His parents were Estonians, even though Kiemets himself lived in Leningrad for a long time. Today he works on the Committee for Energy Resources and is a member of Interdvizheniye's coordinating council, that is, its executive board.

The Interdvizheniye members are keen to give assurances that they love their homeland as much as the Estonians do. But their homeland is the Soviet Union—not Estonia.

"The People's Front wants a confederation with the Soviet Union and wants to weaken contacts with Moscow.

"We on the other hand want the Soviet Union to remain a strong and united nation," said Oleg Morotsov, who arrived for the interview together with Kiemets. Morotsov is also one of the Russian-speaking minority's new leaders.

"It is wrong of the People's Front to seek sovereignty just for the Estonians: Why should the same rights not apply also to Russian speakers?

"We have nothing against the new trends, but we consider that the Estonians have deliberately been giving their actions the wrong thrust," Kiemets stressed.

He said that 10 April is an important date for Interdvizheniye. If by then it has not received a satisfactory response to its call for an extraordinary party conference, strike actions will be started at large factories. Interdvizheniye's unconditional demand is that before 10 April the Estonian Government announce that it is willing to alter its decisions on economic sovereignty and the language law.

The reason why Interdvizheniye has put its call for an extraordinary party conference at the top of its list is that the Communist Party has a Russian-speaking majority.

"We know that the People's Front has called on its supporters to join the party en masse. They are striving to break up the party artificially from within. We must stop that," Kiemets thundered.

He took out the 14 March edition of PRAVDA and listed the "stupidities" which the Estonians have added to the original, genuinely Russian plans for economic renewal, IME.

Top of the list of stupidities come the plans for Estonia's own currency, for total economic sovereignty, and the plans to reduce contacts with Moscow. "Not even the Nordic countries have been able to develop their economies solely on an agricultural basis. That is what the government thinks it can do in Estonia," Kiemets said.

"The Estonians do not understand that factories and high technology are also needed. This high technology is only to be found in the defense industry, which the Estonians are now saying should be turned to peaceful purposes."

Morotsov added that Russian-speaking workers will be furious if the party leadership does not call the extraordinary party conference. They are already angry that the formerly banned flag of the Estonian republic has replaced that of the Soviet Union.

"If tension rises and there are strikes, the workers' collectives will be difficult to stop," Morotsov threatened.

"The economic policies which the government is now pursuing are idiotic and can best be likened to a madhouse, a sort of 'Tallinna Hullumaja' [Tallinn asylum]," Kiemets added.

The two Interdvizheniye leaders sketched alternatives which could bring the Estonian economy to its knees. One is that the workers in other republics could, for example, strangle the supply of oil for a month.

"We have not said anything to the effect that tanks could replace public transport on the streets. That is a bugaboo that the People's Front is spreading mendaciously," Kiemets said.

"We are seeking a compromise. We will not risk the bringing of tanks here."

**Estonian Movement Cites 'Creeping Counterrevolution'**
*PM2003091589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 p 3*

[ETA report by A. Veski, V. Ratas, E. Semenov, and L. Sher: "First International Movement Congress Over"]

[Text] The First Congress of the Estonian SSR International Movement completed its work in Tallinn 5 March.

During the 2d day of the International Movement forum delegates continued the debate on the political report, discussed and adopted an address to the working people of the Estonian SSR and the working people of the USSR, a congress resolution, and the International Movement statutes and program, and approved the membership of the new Coordination Council and Auditing Commission of the International Movement of Estonian SSR Working People.

The congress was attended by N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and E. Cherevashko, chief of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee department.

As already reported, the political report at the congress was delivered by V. Rudyak, member of the International Movement Coordination Council.

It is clear that restructuring in the country is gathering pace. The task of the International Movement is to vigorously implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, the speaker noted. The public in our republic has been widely mobilized in the course of the restructuring and renewal of socialism, in conditions of glasnost and democratization. Along with healthy socialist forces, various currents, including both anti-Soviet and antisocialist ones, have surfaced. At present, he continued, dangerous tendencies toward the separatization [separatizatsiya] of Estonia are mounting in the republic, which may lead to a restoration of the setup and system of the former bourgeois Estonian Republic and then a demand for withdrawal from the USSR.

Characterizing the activity of the Estonian People's Front, the speaker noted that its ideological positions are based on the demands of the April combined plenum of the boards of Estonia's creative unions, at which many emotional speeches tending toward sensationalism and national exclusiveness were delivered, speeches that

were manifestly unacceptable in both content and tone to the Russian-speaking population of Estonia, since they insulted and humiliated its honor and dignity.

The People's Front leaders have also made extensive use in their official documents of allusions to Leninist principles of federalism and nationalities policy—in order to win trust among the people's masses by virtue of the "correctness" of their policy.

The "General Program of the Estonian People's Front" submitted by the leaders and adopted by the congress of the People's Front made an emphatic turn away from Lenin's idea of creating a socialist federation, which he proposed in 1922 when creating the united USSR. Now paragraph 1-a of the basic Estonian People's Front document enshrines the following program demand: to transform "the USSR from a purely formal federal state into a union of really sovereign states which is based on the principles of confederation."

Any confederation, the speaker stressed, bodes only extreme unpleasantness for the Russian-speaking population in Estonia, a population connected for one reason or another with the USSR.

The speaker went on to note that the Estonian People's Front leaders are thus officially and juridically working toward eliminating the united powerful multinational union state—the USSR.

The formation of a union of states based on the principles of confederation would finally separate the sovereign republics "into national apartments," since such a union would not be a single state with a single territory and single union citizenship. Thus, the speaker noted, the Russian-speaking population with closer connections with other republics would in practice be totally isolated from the USSR, that is, it would find itself in a foreign land, abroad, with all the attendant consequences, up to and including an end to the obligation to receive Soviet central television and radio programs in Estonia via republican television and radio centers, and also an end to the ordinary ordering and receipt of Soviet journals, newspapers, and other correspondence. And the fact that on 16 November last year the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Declaration on Estonian SSR Sovereignty, the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution, and the Resolution on the Union Treaty has already juridically ensured the start of the creation of a union of states based on the principle of confederation.

In view of the looming real threat, V. Rudyak said, henceforth the International Movement's main task must be to struggle resolutely against the creation of a confederation.

Both the report and the speeches said that the legislative and normative acts adopted in the republic recently are aimed at implementing separatists' aspirations, at isolating Estonia from the USSR, and at gradually breaking economic and other relations with the other republics of the Soviet Union.

Sharp criticism was leveled at the republic's mass news media, which, the speakers said, are engaging in unprecedented idealization and eulogization of the setup and system of the former Estonian Republic, denigration of the Soviet period of the Estonian SSR, and criticism of the policy of the USSR's supreme management organs. A number of speeches categorized both journalists and the rest of the creative intelligentsia as parasites on the body of the working class and equated them with the bureaucratic official apparatus.

The activation of separatist, antisocialist forces, the congress said, was bound to prompt vigorous opposition from the republic's healthy forces, which in turn led to the emergence of the International Movement.

The political report formulated the principles to which the International Movement is opposed.

The International Movement is opposed to the independent elaboration in the republic of a new political system of state power, a new law establishing a new electoral system for the election of deputies, and new models of people's self-management.

The International Movement believes that the electoral system and the political system of state power, in the shape of the soviets of people's deputies, should be the same (uniform) for all the union republics on the basis of a USSR Constitution that is the same for all.

The International Movement is opposed to the total dismantling of centralized power in the political, legislative, executive, judicial, and other spheres of activity constituting the state sovereignty of the USSR. The International Movement advocates "finding the optimum option for dividing management functions between the USSR and union republics, and the USSR's central organs of power, instead of a swollen bureaucratic administrative-edict apparatus, must have only the rationally necessary power, with a certain degree of centralization, permitting considerably greater independence of action on the part of the union republics."

The International Movement advocates a rule-of-law state with all-union and union republic laws sharing the same fundamentals.

The International Movement is opposed to the indiscriminate elimination of all all-union and union republic ministries and the "removal" from them of absolutely all enterprises under central jurisdiction, with a total change of jurisdiction so that they come under Estonian SSR leading organs. The International Movement believes

that large plants and associations, especially ones of defense importance working in the interests of the entire USSR, can be more competently managed and supplied only by central rather than republican organs. Especially as in the Estonian SSR there is a tendency toward, and plans are being elaborated for, the decentralization and deconcentration of the economy and its territorial dispersal, with the creation of small enterprises on the basis of large ones, and there are also plans for the conversion of industry in general so it is developed and oriented solely in the interests of the Estonian SSR.

The International Movement cannot fully support the idea of the republic independently determining prices and tariffs, tax rates, rates of pay, and budget, financial, and credit policy, circulating its own currency, and also having the independent right to exploit and protect natural resources, including the seaboard.

The International Movement is categorically opposed to the constitutional establishment of private ownership of means of production in Estonia and to the transfer of state enterprises to individuals—that is, to private entrepreneurs—which provides a possibility of exploitation of man by man. This is a direct deviation from socialism.

The International Movement advocates all forms of contract in agriculture and the transfer of land to the peasants under various forms of lease.

The International Movement believes that before switching to complete economic accountability for the republic, real economic accountability should be organized in teams, shops, plants and other enterprises, associations, organizations, and so forth. In other words, economic accountability must start "at the bottom."

The International Movement is categorically opposed to destroying the united USSR Armed Forces.

The International Movement rejects most categorically the legislative introduction of Estonian citizenship in the republic, and is also categorically opposed to the legislative proclamation of Estonian as the sole state language and demands that two languages—Estonian and Russian—be proclaimed state languages.

The congress was addressed on behalf of the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives Presidium by its chairman, V. Yarovoy, general director of the "Dvigatel" Association. He set out his view of the political situation in the republic and announced the consolidation of the United Council of Labor Collectives with the International Movement with regard to defending the interests of the Russian-speaking population and the Estonian population, which is unaware of the danger posed by confrontation and a split.

The congress participants assessed the lowering of the state flag from the Big Hermann tower as an insult to everything that Soviet people hold sacred, stressing that this is another offensive by "creeping counterrevolution" against the positions of socialism in Estonia.

Unfortunately, in many speeches emotion predominated over common sense, there were direct distortions of reality and figures obtained from goodness knows what source, such as the claim that there are 150,000 journalists in the republic, direct insults were voiced, and irresponsible assessments were made, though it is true that these were partly condemned by the congress presidium.

In both the speeches and the decisions of the congress rejection clearly had the edge over approval and the struggle "against" predominated over the struggle "for" and destruction over constructiveness, for you cannot seriously regard as constructive a demand for "the formation of an autonomous oblast in northeast Estonia...and the administrative inclusion in this oblast of those rayons of Tallinn and other cities of the republic in which the Russian-speaking population constitutes the majority." The speeches of some speakers attested to poor knowledge of the Estonian people's history, culture, and traditions.

All this certainly left its mark on the political significance of the congress and its final documents, will ultimately influence the implementation of the noble tasks that were proclaimed, and will by no means help to alleviate the political situation in the republic.

It seems to us fundamentally wrong to struggle against one kind of extremism from the standpoint of another. Animosity can only be a poor adviser; it blinds people, and the consequences of this blindness may be unpredictable. Deterioration of the conflict and its transfer to the streets may mean that the cause of restructuring in Estonia finds itself threatened. It is already in danger. Only reason and good will can save it.

### Protests Voiced Over Estonian Pricing Policy

*PM2003112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "At the First Reading. How Estonians Reacted to Plan To Increase Prices of Certain Products"]

[Text] Tallinn—A draft price reform recently appeared at certain Estonian enterprises—ostensibly for discussion. But it gave rise only to confusion, indignation, and protests.

At the "Volta" Plant I was shown the draft—that is, the decision of the working group set up under the republic's Council of Ministers to analyze proposals to regulate food prices. I read the following: beef R7.90, mutton R6.50, pork R4.80, and butter R8.30.

"We discussed the draft at a conference of shop party organization secretaries and shop committee chairmen. No one supported it," Party Committee Secretary R. Rogas said. "The general opinion was that it represents not only a blow to all our wallets but also a blow to restructuring."

They did not allow an emergency to blow up in Tallinn. The draft was swiftly withdrawn and the newspapers all came out wth soothing statements and explanations—these are rough working documents, they said, and there is no point in discussing them.

"We have nothing to do with this and would not wish to comment on the accuracy of the calculations," the republic's Prices Committee declined to comment....

A strange tale. This is the 3d year that there has been talk of prices and price formation in our country. It seems that people have now agreed that there is no point in hurrying price reforms. However, some specialists, obviously, have a different opinion.

Last May a group of economists put forward in RAHVA HAAL a proposal to drastically increase meat and milk prices. In their opinion, purchasers should pay for products themselves. At present the state allocates to the agro-industrial complex approximately R450 billion to maintain present prices. The specialists asserted that it would be more beneficial to cover consumers' expenditure rather than subsidize production and processing costs. It is not hard to calculate the wage, pension, and grant increases.

In the opinion of the economists, replacing subsidies with compensation payments will stimulate both agriculture and the processing industry. Moreover, food products will no longer leak out of the republic. Visitors export approximately 10 percent of funded [fondovyye] meat products. The newspaper's editorial office claims that readers liked the arguments and more than half of them supported the economists. A final survey of their letters indicated this.

Admittedly, there were also objectors. L. Veskimyae, secretary of the republic's Trade Union Council, reckoned that the group set up by the republic's Council of Ministers to analyze proposals on prices did not reflect the majority of opinions. She wrote in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA that the committee was made up of agro-industrial complex specialists and economists in favor of price hikes and compensation payments. She also questioned the population's support for this idea. At any rate, a poll conducted by trade union committees permitted other conclusions to be drawn.

Last October the working group prepared a plan for price changes and for replacing subsidies with compensation payments. But last fall was so turbulent in the republic's political life that discussion of prices was considered inappropriate. It was only 2 February that the commission of the republic's Council of Ministers discussed the proposals and decided to refer them to the Council of Ministers Presidium. A report on this was carried that evening on a popular television program.

"Why has a draft price reform about which labor collectives and trade unions know nothing been referred to the Council of Ministers Presidium? Representatives of several plants came to me with demands for full information," L. Veskimyae, secretary of the republic's Trade Union Council, said. "I gave them the draft to discuss...."

I have already mentioned working people's reaction. Many of the republic's trade union committees, the Ministry of Social Security, and several associations sent negative reactions to the draft. Obviously, they were not convinced by the explanation by V. Lind, first deputy chairman of the republic's Agro-Industrial Committee, that was published in the press.

"We can keep prices as they are and suffer shortages or set prices to balance supply and demand and have abundant supplies.... Then (with compensation payments) those people who now cannot buy meat either owing to their low income or owing to shortages in the stores will be able to buy it. Industry will receive an incentive to process meat. People who buy too much meat and milk because of the low prices of these products will be more moderate in the future...."

These contentions of his more or less encapsulated the main arguments used by supporters of price hikes outside Estonia as well. Is this the lever that will both extricate the economy from the precrisis quagmire and make the majority of people happy?

The authors of the plan calculated retail prices in a simple manner—by adding livestock unit and processing enterprise costs to sectoral profits. This completely legitimizes the current mismanagement and waste. The customer will have to foot the bill for them out of his own pocket. His rubles will have no stimulating effect either on expanding production or on output quality. Just like state subsidies now. What does an enterprise care whose money is pouring into its account? Proprietors of personal plots, leaseholders, and farmers will really gain: Even today meat's market price is R5-6 per kg.

"It is naive to think that artificial prices imposed from above will balance demand and supply. If that were the case, hundreds of skilled mathematicians would immediately use computers to calculate such prices for all commodities. There would be no need for them to rack their brains any further over problems of inflation, shortages, wholesale trade, and market relations"—that is what "Volta" Plant economists reckon. The draft's authors have used fashionable economic terminology

and restructuring terms to conceal the same old bureaucratic-edict approach to the economy. This sticks out like a sore thumb in their arguments on price reform. People are perfectly aware of this.

Here is the logic behind the plant workers' thinking, in somewhat more detail. Soaring meat and milk prices will demolish the existing consumption structure. Demand will switch to cheaper products—sugar, fish, groats, vegetable oil, margarine, potatoes, and vegetables. Things are tight in these areas today. For instance, it is more difficult to buy potatoes and vegetables at state prices than meat. It is not always possible to buy them at cooperative prices, which are four times state prices. We are already buying potatoes from Poland. So if we raise prices again, this time for all other foodstuffs....

In the near future new wholesale and purchase prices will be introduced within the country and a number of serious economic and political decisions will be put into practice to adjust and improve the economic mechanism. If the republic is in a hurry to set its own prices, it must be pursuing some goals of its own.

Convincing arguments? No one denies them. But they do reject them. Here are the opponents' arguments:

"Republican economic accountability is extremely vulnerable without increases in the retail prices of food products, meat, and milk. Only high prices and compensation payments for them will protect the interests of the republic's inhabitants and its internal market. What point is there in working well if goods are still exported and the stores are empty?"

The republic has taken the line of imposing bans and protecting the internal market. Strict restrictions have been introduced on postal, railroad, and air shipments. Boxes of candy, packs of butter, and children's swimsuits have become contraband. It is no good going into stores without your passport—a considerable proportion of goods are sold only to inhabitants of Tallinn and its suburbs. War has been declared on outside customers. The increase in meat and milk price is from the same economic arsenal. The next step is the Estonian krona, its own currency. The republic's prosperity cannot be guaranteed—the authors of the concept of republican economic accountability reckon—cannot be guaranteed without it.

Is the republic entitled to defend its interests? It is even obliged to do so. The course of ensuring regional self-sufficiency compels it to do so.

But these endeavors and actions should be given their proper name. It is pointless wrapping them up in splendid arguments about contributions to restructuring. Any attempts—even those with a real basis—to shut oneself off from other regions retards rather than accelerates restructuring. SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA recently published a pointed article by Academician M. Bronshteyn of the Estonian Academy of Sciences entitled "How To Defend Our Market." He reckons that this can be done temporarily. But the logic of prohibitions and the republic's own currency is the logic of the country's slow disintegration into feudal principalities. It is the final dissolution of the system of—albeit not totally successful—economic integration and division of labor between the republics. Of course, we would like to have a better life right now without tiresome lines for food and shortages. But you cannot win a state of plenty through innovations in the distribution sphere (all kinds of thing have already been tried—ration cards, and beer for "trade union members"). However you cut it, you cannot make two pies from a single pie. You need flour, meat, butter, and an oven.

Of course, not everyone will agree to give his pie to others when he himself has none. All right, as we understand the republic's position, Estonia has been met halfway in many respects. Why should its leaders not also attempt to convince people of the need to increase stocks of commodities and products in view of the vast influx of visitors? Let them export goods. That is politically and economically more advantageous than any kind of bans and division of people into them and us. For the consequences are simply unpredictable. Estonian Television has shown a Leningrad post office. There is a notice on its door: Consignments to the Baltic republics not accepted. Neighboring oblasts have stopped filling Estonian motor vehicles with gasoline. Economic managers complain that it has become more difficult to do business with partners in other regions.... So what is the slogan beneath which we are embarking on the most difficult time of the country's transformation?

One economist remarked: "It is a pity that the plan to increase prices of meat products was thwarted. Everyone would have seen from its implementation how dangerous it is to resolve very different problems behind talk of restructuring. And to replace the economy by emotions and edicts. The experiment would have been instructive."

Who can say that it has been thwarted? At present it has only failed the first reading, so to speak. No one has said anything about the idea of high local prices itself. The plan was simply recalled—for good or merely until the elections?

## 'Alarming Situation' in Estonia Noted

*PM2103111389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 2*

[Correspondent I. Teterin report: "Discord Beneath the Flag. What Are Tens of Thousands of Tallinn Workers Concerned About?"]

[Text] Tallinn—What could be more alarming than plant sirens when they merge in a long drawn-out wail, seeking to drown each other out?

The internal political situation in Estonia has been exacerbated over the past 2 weeks. A few words about the causes.

On 24 February, for the first time since 1940, the republic celebrated Independence Day. It was decided to hoist the blue, black, and white national flag on the Big Hermann tower in Tallinn. The newspapers published the corresponding Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

It should be emphasized that the fact in itself of the revival of national symbols in the republic no longer arouses objections from anyone. And Independence Day evidently could have been celebrated perfectly calmly if the republic's state flag had not been taken down from the old Tallinn tower in the evening gloom the day before, 23 February. And, so it was later said, it was taken down forever—it was handed over to the Historical Museum as an exhibit. Incidentally, no notification that the red flag was being removed forever from Big Hermann had been published anywhere. In other words, a crucial decision that affected the civic feelings of thousands upon thousands of people was adopted in secret.

And when it was learned that a number of statements had been made at the ceremony to hoist the blue, black, and white flag, the situation assumed a truly dangerously explosive nature. Plant labor collectives were particularly indignant at a speech by Edgar Savisaar, a leader of the Estonian People's Front, for at the ceremony he ventured to claim that the state flag of the republic had never been "honored among the indigenous nation," and its red color was "the color of blood and vengeance, which features on the flags of many peoples."

A few days after the ceremony a firm and principled assessment would be made of E. Savisaar's statements. People would read in an ETA report: "Communist E. Savisaar made insulting attacks on the flag beneath which the party of which he is a member has fought and continues to fight, and Deputy E. Savisaar of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet—the republic's supreme organ of state power—insulted the Estonian SSR state flag." V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, would also make a similar assessment in his television address to the republic's population.

But this would only happen after passions had run high. First a spontaneous rally to protest the lowering of the Estonian SSR state flag arose at the "Elektrotekhnika" Association. More than 1,000 people participated in it. On that day, 24 February, a strike committee was created at the association. After that, meetings of Communists took place at a number of Tallinn's largest plants. The meeting participants demanded not only the hoisting of the republic's state flag on Big Hermann but also a change in nationalities policy and the abolition of a number of legislative acts. In time the date for holding a protest action would also be set.

And now column after column filled the square in front of the city hall. Banners bore these inscriptions—"No to National Dissension!" and "Equal Rights Not in Words But in Deeds!"

And then the rally took place. Its participants confirmed once again that they have nothing against the revival of Estonian national symbols. But, at the same time, some speakers said that the restructuring of interethnic relations must not lead to a clash of interests between different national groups, create artificial priorities, or lead to discrimination against so-called "migrants." Many rebukes were also addressed to Estonia's leaders, whose policy today does not suit the republic's Russian-speaking population. A number of speeches were delivered in an excessively emotional tone.

Of course, I would not like to dramatize events, but an alarming situation has still taken shape today in Tallinn and in Estonia as a whole. Confrontation among various social forces has reached a critical point. What disunites them? Their views on ways to restructure economic and social life in the republic. The leaders of the People's Front are waging a political struggle, proceeding from the priorities of the Estonian nation. In my view, the members of the International Movement prefer to assess what is happening from orthodox class positions. Mutual recriminations and attacks long ago overstepped the bounds of decency here.

Judge for yourselves. At the recent congress of the International Movement it was possible to hear the claim that "creeping counterrevolution" has gained the upper hand in Estonia and that a "wild outburst of nationalism" has occurred here. On the eve of the protest action by Russian-speaking collectives the board of the Estonian People's Front snarled a statement that their " 'opponents' want to turn 14 March into the last day of democracy in Estonia," that now "there is no point in speaking of unity," and that "this colonizing clique struggling for its privileges has no right to speak on behalf of Estonia's entire Russian-speaking population". This is the kind of passion that is seething.

This question is apropos: Whom do they benefit? Probably extremists, above all, who would be tempted to plunge the republic into the abyss of chaos in order then to step up propaganda of the "idea" of Estonia's secession from the USSR. But it is not hard to notice something else. The more intense the political confrontation in Estonia becomes, the more confident and carefree the local bureaucracy feels, particularly the lower managerial links. For it is easiest for them to throw their weight around when the people are divided.

The protest action that took place in Tallinn 14 March not only demonstrated the unity of the Russian-speaking population but also noticeably increased interethnic confrontation in the republic. How is it to be overcome now? The resolution of the rally participants contains a proposal—urgently convene an all-republic party conference.

Who knows, perhaps Estonia really cannot manage without a party forum today? The situation in the republic is complex. In point of fact, the historic opportunity afforded us all by restructuring could itself be jeopardized. But restructuring, as you understand, is equally necessary to Estonians, Russians, Letts, Azerbaijanis.... It is not so much necessary to politicians as to ordinary people. That is, to us all.

*** Estonian Resolution on Compensation for Repression**

**Text of Resolution**

*18000662a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 3*

[Decree of Estonian SSR Council of Ministers: On the Policy for Return of Property and Reimbursement for Damages to People Suffering from Mass Repressive Measures"]

[Text] It says, in particular:

In keeping with the Estonian SSR law of 7 December 1988 "On Extrajudicial Mass Repressive Measures in Soviet Estonia During 1940-1950" in connection with the ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 16 January 1989 "On Additional Measures for Restoring Justice to Victims of Repressive Measures Occurring During the Period of the Thirties-Forties and the Beginning of the Fifties," and in order to protect the rights and legitimate interests of those who have been rehabilitated, the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers hereby decrees:

1. To establish that all citizens unjustly persecuted in Soviet Estonia during 1940-1950 and subsequently rehabilitated (regardless of the time of their rehabilitation) have their property returned to them or be reimbursed for its value.
In the event of the death of the rehabilitated party the property is returned or its value is reimbursed to the heirs of the deceased.

2. Property that has been confiscated, withdrawn, or abandoned because of repressive measures (with the exception of property whose civilian circulation is prohibited) is to be returned to the rehabilitated parties with monetary reimbursement for wear and tear. If it is impossible to return the property reimbursement is made for its value.

3. The value of the property is determined as follows:

1) the value of buildings and structures—according to the evaluation norms of state mandatory insurance in effect at the time of the consideration of the application, taking into account wear and tear as of the day the property was abandoned.
In the event that the buildings and structures have not been under state insurance, they are evaluated on the basis of the decree of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers of 11 January 1962 No 14 (in the edition of the decree of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers of 28 November 1983 No 596);
2) the amount of compensation for wear and tear is established on the basis of the difference between the value of the buildings and structures determined in keeping with subpoint 1 of the current point and their actual value (at the time of the consideration of the application);
3) the value of cattle, poultry, and agricultural products is determined according to procurement prices in effect at the time of consideration of the application;
4) the value of other property is determined according to retail prices in effect at the time of the consideration of the application, and if there are none it is determined by a decision of the executive committee taking into account the opinion of the commission indicated in point 7 of the present decree.

4. To establish in the event that it is impossible to return the property or make reimbursement for its value under the policy established by Point 2 of the present decree, reimbursement is made for the damage to the rehabilitated party through payment of compensation in a precisely determined amount.
To envision payment to the rehabilitated party (for the persecuted family) of compensations for property in the amount of 3,000 rubles with a return of the buildings and structures, with payment of compensation for wear and tear, or reimbursement for their value, or to pay them compensation in the amount of 15,000 rubles for all property (including buildings, livestock, agricultural supplies, and so forth).

5. The rehabilitated parties or their heirs who have acquired new property to replace that which was confiscated, withdrawn, or abandoned as a result of repressive measures are reimbursed for the purchase price of the property.
Nationalized property is not returned to the rehabilitated parties, including the residential building (or part of it), no reimbursement is made for the value of this property, and compensations are not paid.

6. Property is returned to the rehabilitated parties by state agencies, enterprises, and public and cooperative organizations (including kolkhozes) or their successors or the citizens and their heirs to whom the property was initially turned over free of charge and who have kept it.
Reimbursement is made for the value and wear and tear on property and compensation is paid for property from the state budget.

7. City and rayon ispolkoms are to create commissions for determining the property, the wear and tear, and the value of property that is returned to rehabilitated parties, enlisting the necessary specialists in their work.

8. Questions of returning property or making reimbursement for its value and wear and tear, and also payments of compensation for property upon application from citizens indicated in point 1 of the present decree are resolved by the aforementioned commissions.
Rehabilitated citizens or their heirs have a right within 3 years after the adoption of the present decree—and if the citizen is rehabilitated later, within 3 years after the notification of this—to submit an application for the return of property that has been confiscated, withdrawn, or lost as a result of repressive measures to the city or rayon ispolkom in the place of residence of the owner at the time of the repressive measures.
The application is subject to consideration within 6 months of the day of its arrival at the corresponding ispolkom.
The established time period is applied also for applications that have been received by the ispolkom before the present decree was adopted.
Applications that, for good reasons, are submitted after the 3- year period has expired are considered by the ispolkom under the same policy.

9. The commission establishes the composition of the property subject to return to the rehabilitated party and estimates its value on the basis of documents for the confiscation, removal, and sale of the property which are requested from the archives and other institutions.
In the event that these documents are missing or have not been completely preserved, the commission establishes the composition of the property that is to be returned on the basis of other evidence.
Property is returned to the heirs of the rehabilitated parties and reimbursement is made for the value of the property or for its wear and tear, or a compensation is paid for property upon submission of information showing the right to the inheritance or other documents attesting to the inheritance according to the law, and for heirs included in the peasant khutor or kolkhoz farmstead—upon submission of a document certifying their relationship to the peasant khutor or membership in the kolkhoz farmstead.

10. The gorispolkom or rayispolkom makes a decision to make reimbursement for material damage taking into account the act drawn up by the commission referred to in Point 7 of the present decree and:

1) makes it incumbent on the state agencies and enterprises that initially received the property free of charge and recommends to the public cooperative organizations (including kolkhozes) or their legal successors or citizens and their heirs who have property to return it without demanding from the recipients expenditures for storage of the property;

2) gives financial agencies instructions to pay the sums indicated in points 2 and 5 of the present decree out of money from the state budget.

11. State agencies and enterprises return property to rehabilitated parties and make reimbursement for the value of property or the cost of wear and tear, or they pay compensation for the property within the time periods established by the gorispolkom or rayispolkoms but not later than a year after the adoption of the corresponding decision by the ispolkom.

12. The decision of the gorispolkom or rayispolkom to return property or make reimbursement for the value of property or its wear and tear or to pay compensation for property can be appealed by making application to the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

13. Disputes related to the return of property between the rehabilitated parties and their heirs, on the one hand, and state agencies, enterprises, and social and cooperative organizations (including kolkhozes) and citizens, on the other, are resolved through the courts.

14. The Estonian SSR Ministry of Justice in conjunction with the interested agencies are to prepare and submit to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet a draft of a legislative act concerning the policy for releasing the rehabilitated parties and their heirs from payment for court costs involved in disputes related to the application of the present decree and the beginning of the time period for the statute of limitations on suits filed for the return of property to victims of repressive measures.
It has been taken under advisement that the Estonian SSR Ministry of Finance has released the heirs of rehabilitated parties from the payment of state taxes when they submit evidence of the right to inheritance.

15. Rehabilitated parties in need of better housing conditions have the right to obtain residential premises out of turn and they are also accepted out of turn on the list of citizens desiring to enter housing construction cooperatives. If they desire it, they are assigned land for individual housing construction out of turn.
Rehabilitated parties currently living outside the republic have the right to return to the Estonian SSR and obtain residential premises if it is impossible for them to return to the residences they occupied before the repressive measures. The residential premises are offered to them by the executive committee of the local soviet or the state agency, enterprise, or public or cooperative organization (including kolkhozes) on whose territory their previous residence was located or in whose home they lived.

16. To establish that for the rehabilitated citizens indicated in the decree:

1) the time they have spent in exile and in prison is included in their overall, continuous, and special work tenure;

2) the time of paid work since their return from exile or prison is included in the continuous work tenure if the period between the time of receipt of notification of release from exile or prison and the day they begin working does not exceed 6 months, and the time of travel to the place of residence is not taken into account;
3) the time spent in prison and exile in regions of the Far North and locations on an equal footing with it is included in the work tenure which entitles people to a pension under privileged conditions.

17. To supplement the paragraph of point 1 of the decree of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers of 10 October 1985 No 544 "On assigning and paying monthly state stipends to single disabled citizens who are not receiving a pension" with a sentence with the following content: "Monthly state stipends are assigned the rehabilitated citizens who are not receiving pensions."

18. The Estonian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Estonian SSR Committee for State Security are to draw up lists of rehabilitated citizens who have suffered from mass repressive measures during the 1940's-1950's and submit them to the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers. To submit to gorispolkom and rayispolkoms on their request copies of materials in the files about the property and composition of the families of rehabilitated persons.

19. The Estonian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is to notify people sent out of Estonia during the 1940's-1950's through administrative procedures of their rehabilitation.
They are to take under advisement the fact that the Estonian SSR Procurator's Office notifies other citizens who have suffered from extrajudicial repressive measures of their rehabilitation.

20. The gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms can publish lists of people who have suffered from mass repressive measures with the agreement of the repressed parties or, in the event of their death, with the agreement of their heirs.

21. The Estonian SSR Ministry of Finance and the Estonian SSR Ministry of Justice are to give the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms the necessary clarifications concerning implementation of the present decree.

## Official Explains Procedures

*18000662b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by P. Nuuma, Estonain SSR first deputy minister of justice, docent: "A Step Toward Justice"]

[Text] The decree of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers being published today is a significant and concrete step toward restoring the property rights of people who were illegally subjected to repression during the 1940's-1950's in Soviet Estonia and were subsequently rehabilitated and reimbursed for the material harm caused to them.

Officials of legal protection agencies, Tartu State University scholars and workers of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers included in the commission formed under the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers under the leadership of the first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, A. Soydla, participated in the development of the draft of this decree.

The work group paid attention to all the proposals coming in from the central institutions of the republic, the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the deputy of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet E. Savisaar and many citizens. All proposals that corresponded to the essence and goals of the given decree (the return of property or reimbursement for its value) and the law were taken into account. The decree determines that all victims of repression during the 1940's-1950's in Estonia (regardless of the agency that applied the repression and the time of rehabilitation) will have their property returned to them, will be reimbursed for the damage caused to their property, and if it is impossible to return the property, they will be reimbursed for its value or in certain cases they will be paid a compensation.

Victims of repression have a right to this, and in the event of their death, their heirs do.

Only in cases where it is impossible to return property or to determine the amount of material damage and, based on a desire, in spite of all this, to make reimbursement for damage that has been caused, is the compensation envisioned by the decree determined and paid.

At the request of the rehabilitated parties and in keeping with point 6 of the decree, property is returned to rehabilitated parties by those state agencies, enterprises, and cooperative (including kolkhozes) and public organizations and their legal successors to whom the property was initially turned over free of charge and who have kept it.

The reimbursement for the value and wear and tear on property and also the payment of compensation for property to those who have suffered (or their heirs) will be made from the state budget.

The applications from victims of repression or their heirs are submitted to and subject to decisions by the ispolkoms in the regions where the victims initially resided during the time of the repressive measures. Complaints about the actions of the ispolkom in fulfilling this decree are submitted to the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers. Complaints and applications related to pensions and state stipends are resolved by social security

agencies and disputes between citizens and state enterprises, cooperative (including kolkhozes) and public organizations, and citizens are resolved through the courts.

The decree makes it a part of the future duties of the Estonian SSR Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Justice to give clarifications to the ispolkoms regarding questions of the implementation of this decree.

Since life is complicated and it is impossible for legal norms to envision all possible situations and their regulation, the general principles of civil law envision, if necessary, the possibility of applying the legal analogy, which should apparently also be used with benevolent fulfillment of this decree in keeping with existing legislation.

I also hope that the citizens will show an understanding of the activity of the ispolkoms that do not yet have experience in implementing such an unusual decree and have already received so many applications that it is impossible to deal with all of them at once.

Point 15 of the decree envisions a number of benefits for rehabilitated citizens in need of better living conditions. If the necessary conditions exist, housing will be granted to the rehabilitated parties only by the ispolkom or state agency, enterprise, or cooperative (including kolkhoz) or public organization on whose territory the victim of repressive measures lived during the time of the repressive measures or in whose home he lived during those years.

Questions related to the assignment of pensions and state stipends envisioned in the decree to parties and under conditions envisioned by the decree are resolved by social security agencies, to which one must apply with these issues.

In order to initiate a request for the return of property or reimbursement for it in the corresponding ispolkom, the citizen must append to the application regarding this issue a certificate of rehabilitation which is given to the victims of repressive measures or their heirs by the Estonian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs or the Commission for State Security.

This decree, which citizens who have been illegally subjected to repressive measures and subsequently rehabilitated have waited for many years, has been adopted. What must follow now is its rapid, unwavering, and precise implementation.

## Latvian Independence Movement 'Alien to' Renewal

*PM2003104189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 11*

[Unattributed report: "In Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Central Committee Bureau has examined the question of the congress of the Latvian National Independence Movement held 18-19 February in Ogre and of the documents adopted at it. As is well known, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum denounced the activity of that organization, which is undertaking vigorous actions from positions of political adventurism to fuel anti-Soviet and separatist sentiments and is denying the historical choice of the republic's working people in favor of socialism.

The course of the congress and its documents attest convincingly that the Latvian National Independence Movement is a sociopolitical formation which stands on an antisocialist platform alien to genuine restructuring and the processes of our society's socialist renewal. The leaders of the national independence movement are ignoring the Latvian Communist Party's call to take into account the historical and political realities which have taken shape in the republic. At its congress the Latvian National Independence Movement proclaimed as its ultimate goal 'the restoration of an independent and democratic Latvian state" and the creation of a "parliamentary democracy" based on the principles of a constitution for a Latvian republic of the 1922 model. Essentially it is a case of abolishing the existing system, which contradicts the Latvian SSR Constitution and the fundamental interests of Soviet Latvia.

In the Latvian National Independence Movement's policy documents questions of the economy, social life, the establishment of republican citizenship, and the implementation of the electoral law are viewed from positions of separatism. The documents raise the question of the denationalization of industry, trade, and the land and of the restoration of private ownership of the means of production.

During the congress overt attempts were made to discredit the party's present policy and the efforts the republic's leadership is making to remove tension in the sphere of interethnic relations and offensive and provocative attacks were permitted against the Soviet Army.

Considering the undisputed priority of the general democratic ideas of restructuring, the leaders of the Latvian National Independence Movement are trying to camouflage their actions with pseudorevolutionary slogans and in their statements they keep quiet about how restructuring was begun by the Communist Party and that it is the Communist Party which is seeking to direct the working people's efforts toward resolving specific tasks to improve the people's living standard.

It is undisputed that the republican party organization, to accelerate restructuring, is conducting a continuous dialogue with the People's Front and International Front of Latvian Working People and with other new public organizations. It is the party organizations, in conjunction with the workers and rural workers and with the scientific and creative intelligentsia of the republic, which are consistently resolving the problems which have accumulated. Thanks to these efforts the ideas of regional economic accountability [khozraschet] are

being implemented, priority for agriculture has been established, the draft law on languages has been submitted for discussion, and a number of measures have been taken to halt unjustified migration and to intensify the local soviets' real power.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has every grounds for concluding that the Latvian National Independence Movement, acting as a parasite on the beneficial processes of national resurrection and on people's patriotic feelings, is taking steps to create in the republic a political structure in opposition to the Latvian Communist Party. It is also worrying that the political adventurism of the Latvian National Independence Movement is putting the healthy forces of the Latvian People's Front in an unfavorable light.

The Communists cannot agree with this political adventurism and group ambitions of the Latvian National Independence Movement nor with its attempts to lend an organizational nature to antirestructuring and antisocialist activity and to resolve national problems on the path of confrontation, self isolation, and aloofness. All champions of restructuring must understand that these methods of the Latvian National Independence Movement and its manipulation of the slogans of democratization and glasnost are delaying the processes of renewal and inflicting irreparable harm on the Latvian people's hopes and aspirations.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has obliged the party raykoms and gorkoms and primary party organizations to step up mass political and ideological work among the working people proceeding from the principled directions of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January 1989 Plenum. It is essential consistently to support all that is constructive in the activity of public formations and at the same time to be implacable toward any actions aimed at undermining the ideological and moral foundations of socialism and at kindling interethnic discord. The unity of party ranks and Communists' discipline must be strengthened in all party organizations and those comrades who ignore the demands of the CPSU Statutes should be made strictly answerable.

The bureau stressed that inasmuch as the Latvian national independence movement does not share the social values of our society and denies the possibility of its socialist restructuring, Communists' participation in the work of this organization must be regarded as politically and ideologically unacceptable and incompatible with membership of the CPSU.

The bureau demanded that Communists working in the mass media display a party approach toward covering the true aims and tasks of the Latvian national independence movement and take specific steps to halt the propaganda of views and actions which contradict the socialist nature of restructuring. Willful and unwitting disregard for this demand is tantamount to assisting the opponents of restructuring.

The bureau believes that an important task for all party organizations today should be the principled assessment of each Communist's contribution to practical deeds, to the consolidation of all healthy social forces, and to the socialist renewal of society on the basis of the political platform of the 19th all-union party conference.

## Official Clarifies 6 Mar Riga Rally 'Rumors'

*PM2003134189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 3*

[LATINFORM report: "Strict but Warranted Measures"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] There are many rumors going around Riga that a 6 March demonstration by artistes was broken up. We asked B.Ya. Shteynbrik, Latvian SSR minister of internal affairs, to comment on this incident.

There is indeed some substance to these rumors, the minister confirmed. Those commentaries broadcast on Latvian television on the evening of 6 March were close to the truth, incidentally. Although it is also true that a number of points they raised should be clarified.

On 6 March the internal affairs department of Oktyabrskiy Rayispolkom began to receive calls reporting that some people carrying placards were gathering on Kirov Street near Kronvald Park and holding up the traffic. Several dozen people had indeed gathered in the above region and were protesting against criticism of the republic's State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. Members of the militia first tried to establish who had given permission for the demonstration to be held in such a busy place.

This demonstration had not been sanctioned by anyone. Consequently, as required by law, its participants were asked to disperse. Most of the citizens complied with this request. Some of the demonstrators, however, began to hurl abuse at the militia workers. They were then asked to go along to the internal affairs department. Some did as they were asked, while others resisted the militia.

In all, 26 citizens had to be taken to the department. Following a talk, during which the procedure for staging demonstrations was explained to them, the majority were allowed to go.

The three most inveterate violators of public order—E.K. Kukurs, a worker at the "Marupe" Kolkhoz; L.A. Kruminya, a movie technician at the Yurmala Local History Museum; and U.I. Orula, a worker at the Riga Construction Administration-60—will be charged with disobeying the militia's legal demands, under Article 175 of the Latvian SSR Administrative Code. The case

material has been sent to the people's court. All three have been arrested before, for taking part in a stop-action in Lenin Street. Among those arrested in Kirov Street for violating public order was Ya.A. Ozols, an activist from the "Helsinki-86" group, who had conducted himself in a provocative fashion.

I very much regret that some well-known artistes from Riga theaters allowed themselves to be drawn into this company, pursuing questionable aims and using unworthy methods of struggle.

I want you to understand me correctly: Neither I nor other MVD workers are opposed to rallies or demonstrations. But they must be conducted in an appropriate manner. If this does not happen, the law comes into effect and the law must be complied with.

In order to prevent such conflicts arising in the future I think the city authorities must clearly define the places for holding rallies and demonstrations as soon as possible and more strictly monitor the participants' observance of the agreed conditions.

In conclusion I would like to mention another unjust accusation brought against our workers. Some of the participants in the demonstration alleged on television that the militia were drunk. I take full responsibility and say that this is malicious slander. A most thorough check has been carried out which failed to reveal any deviations from the norm in any of the militia members involved in restoring order. So it is regrettable that this unfounded accusation brought against members of the militia has not been properly assessed by television personnel. There is no point in following the example of Ya. Rukshans, who also slandered militia workers in the eighth issue of ATMODY.

## Interviews Featured Before 12 Mar Latvian Rally

*LD1603150989 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2130 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[From the "Amber Coast" program presented by Janis Udris]

[Text] The most important event of the past days here was the demonstration of the People's Front of Latvia on Sunday [12 Mar] at Daugavmala. Approximately one-quarter of a million people at it unanimously confirmed their support for Gorbachev's course of restructuring, and resolve to safeguard democracy, freedom of expression and the press in Latvia. They protested against an escalation of hatred, and a resolve not to permit another 1959 in Latvia. [as heard]

This evening we are broadcasting some Sunday recordings from Daugavmala.

First of all, here are interviews given shortly before the start of the meeting.

[Begin recording] [Udris] Dzemma Skulme, head of Latvia's Union of Artists, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, how do you regard the participation of women in the awakening of the people, and in the present day, when rather serious events directed against artists occur? [as heard]

[Skulme] The woman has been the one who awakens, and the woman has this mission. It seems to me, she has done everything to awaken the male, to awaken the man. What is taking place now, when the men begin to talk about politics, has happened after a great many long years. I must say, I remember from my childhood my father's and his generation's art masters. They always spoke about politics. There is a painting by my father, The Old Politicians. Also, the peasants of rural areas of Latvia talked about politics. For many years we have not learned to do this. This had been prohibited. Now we have burst open, the men have burst open. This delights me the most.

[Udris] Thank you for interview, and for what you are doing at our country's parliament for the sake of our Latvia. [end recording].

Among the guests was also the chief editor of the popular all-union OGONEK magazine, Ukrainian poet Vitaliy Korotich.

[Begin Korotich recording, in Russian, fading into Latvian translation] I feel a growth of a sense of responsibility on the part of Latvia's inhabitants for their destiny, I feel a growth of the self-respect of Latvians, and I am very glad about it. The most important issue now is to preserve everybody, so that no human being would be lost in the present day.

How many times already have the people of Latvia paid a heavy price, been robbed of the most active, the most industrious people? If Latvia today will be able to safeguard itself in a purely human aspect, then all the dreams of the people will be fulfilled. [end recording]

Here is an interview with Ivars Kezbers, secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, who, having just come out of a hospital, participated at Sunday's meeting.

[Begin recording] [Udris] It must be asked first of all, how is your health?

[Kezbers] Thank you, in this atmosphere I feel special powers, and I also intend to return to the working ranks as soon as possible.

[Udris] But is it only a kind of pulling oneself together, or is it really good?

[Kezbers] I think that it is good, and also a pulling together, because otherwise it is not possible.

[Udris] How does today's meeting appear to you? A great deal can be judged here by the slogans.

[Kezbers] You know, first of all I am judging by the exalted faces. I am looking always, either when I am on a rostrum or in some presidium—I look in the hall, and if I see exalted faces, wise ones, intellectual ones, then already I am glad. With regard to slogans, I have read, well, a couple of dozen slogans, I agree with all of them. But perhaps I have not seen anything yet.

[Udris] Thank you, Comrade Kezbers, and energy and health to you.

[Kezbers] Thank you. [end recording]

Here is the view of the popular commentator of international events, member of the board of the Council of the People's Front of Latvia, Mavriks Vulfsons.

[Begin recording] [Udris] Comrade Vulfsons, how does today's meeting appear to you? What does it mean in our Latvia's history?

[Vulfsons] Indeed I regard that such a meeting as can be seen here today is something absolutely unique in Latvian history. I would like to say that this is an upswing of the meeting of the 7th of October. Whereas the first meeting was a purely emotional one, here I feel the reason, resolve, and awareness of the inhabitants of Latvia—first of all of the Latvian people—that our happiness is in the unity of our people, in a further development of our people. The resolve to defend those achievements, which we experience in the field of democracy, openness, and restructuring, at all costs. Not to give to those forces which in the present day appear against us by various means—I would say first of all by cunning, but, unfortunately, also by power—not to give them an opportunity to stop this process.

I would like to end with my favorite slogan which today has probably a double or a triple significance: Not a single step backwards. We shall hold everything fast, we shall safeguard everything, and we shall move further ahead. [end recording]

## Nationalism, 'Stereotypes' in Latvia Viewed

*PM2203094189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Article by SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH journalist Irina Litvinova under the rubric "Journalist From Latvia Has a Say": "Front Through the Heart; 'Down With Stereotypes! Long Live Stereotypes?'"]

[Text] 4 Mar—Should I regret the times when this searing pile of letters did not come to land on my table? Each letter contains alarm, pain, and sometimes confusion and perplexity.

"Hello, people! I do not stand on any front, I am strictly a civilian. By nationality I am Russian, and I know the Latvian language. In my 46 years I have lived in Riga for 44—in one and the same house without facilities. I was married to a Latvian and we lived together for quite a long time, and there is a daughter from our marriage. I grew up surrounded by Russian and Latvian culture, and both are close and dear to me. But now there has been a split on national lines and it is being hinted to me that Latvia is not my home. I have no one to go to in Russia. What am I to do, for I cannot live in such hatred? And my daughter, the daughter of a Latvian? Where is her home, her motherland? She is looking at everything that is taking place, and I sense that she is forming not too good an opinion of her compatriots. The result is that no one needs her or me. People, what are you doing? Come to your senses! With respect, Graudynya."

A simple, guileless letter. Someone feels bitter and she turns for help to us all—to people. There is an increasing number of these letters with every passing day. And I hear explanations and confessions from my readers and I try to find the main thing which unites them. Pain? Self defense? Injured dignity? And perhaps my readers will help me to understand something which I sometimes cannot get into my head?

In a flash a leading colleague has suddenly become "progressive" and that has given him the right to brand the remainder of the population (except for himself) as he sees fit: That man is a "stagnationist," that man a "traitor," that woman a "neostalinist," that woman a "reactionary..." But I remember the time of stagnation when he would issue orders to us "on the press" and would work himself into a heart-rending state if we extricated ourselves even slightly from the stern framework of his instructions. A turncoat? But why then is he "riding high?"

A chief architect would put his signature to every possible and impossible "extension," "modernization," and "new construction project" involving industrial enterprises. And now he mounts the rostrum without embarrassment and brands the diktat of "central departments." He is unashamed.

A doctor of economic sciences has received a scholarly degree by substantiating "scientifically" the destruction of the traditional nature of the Latvian countryside. You have already guessed? Yes, today he is in the front ranks of the republic's "restructuralists" and issues us with stunning plans. And we must believe that their implementation will bestow prosperity on us.

How bold some deputies are: After all it is now no problem for them to say everything they want. Even if there is no point in doing so and even if they have not a gramme of responsibility to all the voters, and not only to them. What was it they were previously "reluctant" to

do? Express themselves. Boldly. Earning the additional payment they received for their powers. I do not believe them. Others can make their own choice.

How many examples of this kind there are! In an instant we have been divided into "white" and "black." And those "who are not with us...." That's right, they are the "blacks." You think I have strayed from my main theme? It seems to me I am only approaching it. A seemingly simple theme: How some stereotypes have been replaced with others. Who needs this? And why? And who waves the word "the people" like a flag so frequently?

"The word 'the people' is an incomprehensible word.
"And it has been put into circulation to no avail.
"I look at one person, then at another,
"And I see people, not the people,
"Dissimilar, different people—
"The righteous and the evil doer,
"And it is not an idle fancy
"That makes me call people people."

"I call people people," the poet generalized. But we divide people: into "Latvians" and "Russians," into "People's Front members" and "International Front members," into "nationalists" and "chauvinists," "migrants" and "indigenous inhabitants." Not a day passes without a new gradation. Fixing boundaries? Sometimes it is necessary. But turning this into some kind of pathological end in itself?

Overthrowing—that is happening on a large scale. And we forget the primary meaning of words. With the simplicity of one just born we ask:

But what is nationalism?
But what is chauvinism?
Reveal to us the concept of "internationalism."

The largest number of complaints is directed against this last. The word has already been turned into an insult. Have people not been too hasty? The dictionary seems to state with the utmost clarity: Internationalism: A type of relations of friendship, equality, mutual respect, and mutual aid between peoples and nations." And perhaps it is too early to consign internationalism to the archives? After all we will all need it many times yet.

In my view the dictionary has also dealt quite well with nationalism. "The foundations of nationalism are the ideas of national superiority and national exclusiveness, the interpretation of the nation as being of supreme extrahistorical and supraclass exclusiveness." That doesn't suit you? Let's take the dictionary of foreign words: "Nationalism is the preaching of national exclusiveness, setting the interests of one nation against the interests of all other nations, kindling national enmity and a feeling of scorn and hatred for other races and nations." Adolf Hitler took the idea to its climax: "I see before me no classes and no estates, only a community of people linked by the unity of their blood."

Nationalism can be of various kinds—Russian, Latvian, Chinese....

For me nationalism is disrespect for those who are next to you when you are deciding your own national problems. And when you fail to notice—in pain or in joy—that these others are also people. Not a people. But people. Do not forget them.

But there was something rather unexpected as regards chauvinism. "Chauvinism—French—from the name of N. Chauvin, a soldier and supporter of the predatory policy of Napoleon I; an extreme aggressive form of nationalism." An example of chauvinism? I take it from the editorial mail: "Some figures' statements about the possible remigration of part of the population are nothing but chauvinism. Not concealed by even a light camouflage. Bellicose, aggressive chauvinism. [signed] Igor Pavlov."

And here is more about internationalism. Engineer Zotov writes:

"The fact that only one-fourth of the republic's Russian-speaking population knows Latvian is their misfortune, not a crime. For decades a scandalous situation has persisted with regard to the teaching of the Latvian language in Russian schools. The most urgent measures are needed here. But right now efforts aimed at eliminating this shameful situation are somehow not very noticeable....

"If you assess people's internationalist qualities solely on the basis of their knowledge of languages then it is not Ernst Thaelmann who is the internationalist but the notorious fascist butcher Eichmann, who made a special study of the Jewish language in order to 'work' successfully on the destruction of the Jewish population."

They are trying to reconcile us. And I do not want to quarrel with anyone—on the basis of nationality. That is absurd. But I shall quarrel with those who have very swiftly become "white" and have called others "black" by contrast. Are they not the ones who introduced the ugly and little understood word "consolidation?" As though it had been specially dragged out to definitively confuse everything. And how rapidly we have allowed it to prevail over a customary word—"friendship." People used to become friends (and, of course, they used to quarrel) but now they are being called on to consolidate. And they understand this in different ways. Indeed, could it be otherwise? Consolidate along national lines? It is clear to all sensible people that this path is an impasse. And a respectable, wise Latvian is closer to me than a Russian who defends his seat by every means. And vice versa. A truth that would seem not to be worth a brass farthing. But it is an open secret that we are now

neglecting it criminally. And however much people may ask our fronts: "But how many Latvians do you have? And how many non-Latvians?", the answer—not a reassuring one—is known to us. Only a few. One contains Latvians. The other non-Latvians.

G. Gorbuntsov from Riga writes:

"The existence of fronts and other informal unions and groups reinforces only the political antagonism of the two numerically strongest nations in the republic for a long period. All that is needed is a spark from, for instance, the adoption under these conditions of the law on languages (without equal guarantees for each nation) and this will provide the opportunity for the battle cry for the transition from political confrontation to a physical clash. Do we realize that? And if we do, why are we not resisting this threat?

"The sports slogan 'Higher! Further! Faster' which we in the Baltic use between republics when taking sociopolitical decisions is hardly sensible."

We have all emerged from stagnation... emerged. But have we gone a long way?

A school of democracy is your attitude toward someone else's opinion which differs from yours. How are we studying in this school? I fear that because of our failures we can hardly be moved up to the next class. It is true that it seems to some people that they are already ready to open a profit-making cooperative and to engage in both wholesale and retail trade—as long as they have accessible formulas of glasnost.

Glasnost! And other people's linen is dragged out for all to see (if it is too clean—we will dirty it).

Glasnost! Even a journalist does not hesitate to admit that the information she has gathered about the congress of a front alien to her publication involves overheard gossip and unchecked rumors.

Glasnost! And the target is chosen at which they fire with aimed deliveries and in volleys.

"Cheap." That assessment from the letters ricochets back on those who think they have concealed their lack of professionalism. It will not work. Petty deeds and petty phrases are vanity. And vanity cannot be concealed.

"A verbal revolution." That is how a writer described our times.

But I. Sashina from Riga has supplemented this image with the following ideas:

"I do not trust the loudmouths. (And I sense how immediately—at a stroke—I am 'delaying restructuring.' But the person who has torn his vocal chords apart shouting, does that mean he is accelerating restructuring? As simple as that...) The chattering has set my teeth on edge. (And again I hear people saying: 'You are putting a spanner in the works of democracy.' But does democracy proceed without rules? Then where will it take us? I think it is called something other than democracy. And a highly seditious question (you will be categorized immediately as a 'stagnationist' for putting it): Is democracy an end in itself? Or is it still a means? And is it democratic to sign various papers 'for company': 1,000 signatures, 10,000 signatures, 1 million!... The little children cannot yet hold a pencil? We will help! Public opinion is ready. Civic boldness has been displayed. Democracy!..."

How easily some leaders have "restructured themselves" and changed their colors. They seem to have stayed the same. In essence. But now it is form that is valued. People cannot be bothered with essence.

Here is what A. Mokrousov writes:

"I went into an ispolkom and half in jest and half in earnest asked my long-standing 'acquaintances' who for several months now have been overwhelming me with formal replies to a trivial question: 'But don't you have People's Front pickets standing outside your building against the bureaucrats?' My question was taken seriously and given a serious reply: "But why picket us? We ourselves have created a People's Front support group...."

But some people have "gambled" on the International Front. Nationality is becoming almost a profession.

Dissent—especially in national ideas—is punished. Simply having "one's own opinion" is punished. We remember how by no means the least talented mayor, the first in many years to be concerned for the capital's destiny, ended up among the "blacks." The next nomination for a smear campaign—the first director in the country to be elected by a labor collective—is also ready.

Familiar stereotypes. And they have been changed only cosmetically. If you reject them then it is en bloc. The entire People's Front. Or the entire International Front. With whom will we remain? And against whom will we act? Will it not be against ourselves?

Of the new informal organizations the one I like is the one which does not wear a mask. Even if its views are completely unacceptable to me I respect their openness. But how can I respect the leaders of a very large sociopolitical organization whose leaders sit on the fence on the most uncompromising issues? Now you hear from them a resolute "No, we have no intention of seceding!" stated in many millions of newspapers for the entire country. Then, reduced to several thousand issues of our own newspaper, you hear: "But why not? And what about nations' right to self-determination?"

Let's leave the nations in peace. If you abandon coquetry, what is your true self determination? Where is the mask? Where is the face? And how many of them are there? Readers have counted a great number of faces. Or are they all masks which have replaced the face which has lost its attraction? But a politician who has lost his face resigns.

The year 1940 has remained in 1940. Everyone understand this very well. But if you search for the truth in 1940 then you must discuss and seek arguments. Is it not far simpler to move the clock forward nearly 50 years and to "punish" the people alive now, the Soviet Army, for instance?

Forgive us, the 150,000 dead, for allowing the evil word "occupiers" to be heard on the land you liberated.

And what are we to say by way of explanation to that old man with no legs who has come to the site of the battles with the fascists near Tukums and has encountered insults and abuse?

Culture is above all morality. An immoral culture? It is a traumatized culture. Even if only one old man has been insulted.

We do not listen to our authorities if we do not like what they say. Shall we listen to how we look from outside?

P. Reddaway, director of Kennan [name as published] university:

"...As regards the nationality question. I do not see any simple solutions here but perhaps it would nonetheless be worth suggesting to your Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian friends that their demands should be more moderate or else I fear all this will have truly sorry consequences."

And more letters. They are increasingly heated. I sense that people feel badly. Guilt and pain? Every person feels them. These concepts are extranational.

Will we understand that?

Will we come toward each other?

## Democratic Union Commemorative Rally Criticized

*PM2103114589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 4*

[Yu. Shabanov "Postscript to an Unauthorized Rally": "Beneath the Flag of Autocracy"]

[Text] "Restore February's democratic gains," "Down with CPSU autocracy," "February—people's revolution; October—counterrevolutionary coup." These and other such slogans appeared in Mayakovskiy Square at about 1500 hours last Sunday [12 March]. Flying above them was the white, blue, and red flag of autocratic Russia. This was how a few dozen members of the Democratic Union, headed by the notorious V. Novodvorskaya, attempted to mark the anniversary of the February [1917] bourgeois-democratic revolution.

It must be said that there were plenty of people in the square. Some of them driven by curiosity, others driven by sympathy—it cannot be denied that there were some of them—yet others simply carried along by the turn of events. There were also voters to be found there, who had been told that an election campaign meeting in favor of a candidate people's deputy would be held in the square at that time. In short, about 2,000 people assembled there.

As always when such unimaginable crowds are involved, the Democratic Union members tried to fish in troubled waters. They were not interested in election campaigning or in who would vote for whom. They were voting against.

Against the system existing in our country, against the CPSU, against everything achieved by our people in the years of Soviet power. A. Gryaznov slashed the air with his hand:

"Not a single genuinely democratic law has been adopted during the restructuring period...."

But how about the laws on the state enterprise, on the cooperative system, on elections, on amendments to the USSR Constitution, and on extending benefits for war veterans; how about the draft Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation submitted for discussion? The organizers of the unauthorized rally are not interested in facts.

True enough, not all the laws that have been adopted are fully in force. But this does not change their democratic essence. We are actually discussing the elimination of the mechanism which brakes them and ways to give them the green light. But as far as Democratic Union members are concerned, the harder democracy finds it to make headway, the better. They applaud those who sabotage restructuring since the latter's actions suit their aspirations, and they slander socialism as a system. And ordinary people at times swallow the bait.

But what do the members of the so-called Democratic Union advocate—democracy, glasnost, renewal? In their view, February was a people's revolution which, had the Bolsheviks not usurped power in October, would have brought happiness and prosperity to the people. Let us hear what Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Chikovani, professor at the Moscow Higher Party School, has to say in this context. [Extent of following Chikovani quotation indicated neither by quotation marks nor by any other typographical device]

Being a historian, I am used to dealing with facts. Here they are. The Eighth Congress of the Constitutional Democrats, the main ruling political party, was held in

May 1917. A number of participants in the congress proposed proclaiming Russia a federal republic and granting territorial-national autonomy status to the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania. F. Kokoshkin, one of this party's leading functionaries, perceived in this a danger of Russia being dismembered. Consequently, the ensuing self-management was extremely truncated within the narrow framework of the economic and cultural sphere. By way of a protest, the Ukrainians and Lithuanians walked out of the congress. So much for freedom of the peoples.

And how about the solution of the agrarian question? Some people at the congress timidly proposed to delete from the program of the party (in other words the Provisional Government) the article about compensation to landowners for expropriated land, thus trying to gain the peasants' sympathies. But the majority voted down this democratic proposal.

Thus the people gained neither freedom, nor bread, nor peace (think back to the botched June offensive launched by the bourgeois government, which was drowned in the Russian Army's blood). It is well known that "democracy" reached the point where the desperate people's masses organized a demonstration in Petrograd and were fired upon with rifles and machineguns. There you have the reality of the "genuinely popular" activity of the bourgeois government.

So in what direction is the Democratic Union summoning us in raising the tricolor of Russian autocracy? Back to the suppression of uprisings in outlying national regions carried out beneath that flag, back to Khodynka [reference to May 1896 crowd disaster at Khodynskoye Field to the northwest of Moscow], to mass executions, to pogroms by the Black Hundreds, to Kornilov's military dictatorship—which the Provisional Government planned as the "brilliant" culmination of democracy?

Mayakovskiy Square was in turmoil for just over 2 hours. Throughout that time militia staffers tried to bring people back to their senses: "Disperse, don't block the traffic." Numerous warnings were given: "If you disobey instructions, you will be deemed to be participating in an unauthorized rally." By no means everyone heeded the voice of order and reason. At times, to be honest, I feared for the militiamen. There were hooligan shouts, people spat at them, and there were downright insults.

The most zealous had to be taken to the militia precinct. Cases were opened against 50 persons for breaches of the Decree on the Conduct of Rallies, Demonstrations, and Street Marches.

Here is a typical point. Party workers, ideological aktiv members, and ordinary passers-by tried to talk about the unlawful behavior of the rally participants and their anti-restructuring essence, but in reply they were threatened with a swift settling of scores.

Why is it that violators of public order feel so free, at times overstepping all limits? Neither persuasion, nor fines, nor administrative punishment has any effect on them. Some even deem it a display of heroism to end up in the militia precinct, and defy this danger. Is it not time to take harsher measures, as provided by that selfsame decree, against such unbridled hooligans? In any event, the militia must adhere to the letter of the law whenever it is broken.

## * Culture Minister on 'Memorial' Society

*18000651 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 1*

[Interview with V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture: "Our Common Duty"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **This is now the third month of the all-union open competition for the best design for a memorial to the victims of lawlessness and the repressions that took place during the years of personality cult. The numerous letters, proposals and suggestions being sent to the mass media and the agencies dealing with the competition—the USSR Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Architecture, the Moscow City ispolkom, the USSR Academy of Artists, the USSR Union of Artists and the USSR Union of Architects—indicate people's great interest in this important national matter. In this connection we asked the USSR Minister of Culture V.G. Zakharov to answer some questions.**

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] It is common knowledge that discussion about the memorial started long before the announcement of the competition. What is new about this present stage?

[Zakharov] First and foremost both the public and the state organs now have a concrete, businesslike base for solving questions concerning the memorial, namely, the conditions of the competition. Accordingly, most of the new proposals for its design are now practical and positive in nature.

The impaneling of a jury is not yet complete but proposals on its representation and democratic makeup have already been discussed on more than one occasion. I think that the number of jury members should not be too large, and it should include a solid nucleus of professional specialists—sculptors, architects, artists who have worked on monument projects, and article experts. And of course, the jury should also include representatives of the public movements.

With regard to possible clarifications in the program and the conditions of the competition, such proposals will be reviewed by the jury itself.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] Responding to questions from members of the "Memorial" society organizing committee you recently reported that this society will be

able to be included among the official sponsors of the competition for a design for the memorial after it has acquired legal recognition, that is, after it has held its own inaugural conference. Is "Memorial" participating in the competition today?

[Zakharov] After it had held its own conference the all-union voluntary historical-enlightenment "Memorial" society was invited to be one of the organizers and sponsors of the competition for a design for a memorial to victims of the repressions, and now we are working jointly with its activists. Several meetings of working groups of representatives from the organizers and sponsors have taken place, at which on an equal basis "Memorial" has been resolving organizational questions and offering proposals on the makeup of the jury and on clarifications on particular points of the program and the conditions of the competition. In the future we see a decision on the fate of the memorial along the path of cooperation with all public and creative forces in the country.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA] In recent statements by certain public figures in the press and on television there has been a certain note of complaint about the USSR Ministry of Culture for "attempts to take charge of the people's money," from the now well-known account number 700454....

[Zakharov] In fact it was being said that our ministry was allegedly laying claim to the money collected for the memorial fund, and with trying to "cut off" the "Memorial" society from the right to handle it....

Such assertions are not simply incompetent but also at variance with all the known facts. I must remind you yet again that account number 700454 at the USSR Zhilsotsbank was opened in accordance with the instructions of the 19th all-union party conference in July 1988 and was earmarked for the collection of public subscriptions to build a memorial in Moscow to fulfill our moral duty to the victims of Stalinism. Funds from state and public organizations, labor collectives, and creative unions are being paid into that account, along with funds from charity concerts and lotteries, and private donations. To date R1,021,000 have been collected. It is clear that neither our ministry nor any public organization, nor its sponsors of the competition can autocratically use that money. After it has made its decisions on the winners the jury will decide the fate of those donations.

It would at the same time be only fair that in the discussions about some kind of right to "embody initiatives" we do not forget the true role of our state, which will probably ultimately carry the main costs.

### 6,000 Arrested in Moscow Crime Sweep

*LD2103165289 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] The Soviet Deputy Minister of the Interior, general (Bogdanov) has announced the successful completion of an operation to slash the incidence of crime in the Soviet capital. He said over 6,000 criminals were detained in the course of the operation. The general also said the law enforcement bodies have been taking measures to combat organized crime which made it possible to arrest members of an armed gang who had arrived in Moscow from the southern city of Rostov-on-Don and the Transcaucasian republic of Georgia. The gangsters surrendered a considerable amount of firearms and handgrenades.

### Moscow Restricts Officials' Vehicular Privileges

*LD1503215889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] The Moscow city soviet ispolkom has decided to reduce to the absolute minimum the number of official cars allowed to travel at high speeds on city streets. Naturally, this decision in no way extends to such services as ambulances, the fire department, the militia, and various emergency departments. Instead, this is a matter of depriving officials working for party and local soviet bodies, ministries, and various institutions and departments who use such transport for their own personal use of advantages on Moscow's streets.

It is precisely in these organizations that the number of vehicles fitted with various signalling devices or number plates with a special combination of figures and letters has grown from year to year. Then it became fashionable not to have a number plate on the front bumper, but to attach a special headlight on the front which did not so much light the way as clear the way. How could you tell whether the vehicle was taking the rider on an urgent official matter or whether it was racing along on his personal business?

But all this is not justified in any way. This speeding is taking place in a huge city where on each of the main thoroughfares there are as many as 10,000 cars moving along in the rush hour. The state of the roads is far from being satisfactory. This is why it was decided to introduce some order into Moscow's transport arteries. The staff of the capital's state traffic inspectorate have prepared themselves for difficulties in carrying out the decision of the Moscow ispolkom. They have a realistic idea of the pressure they will have to withstand by some leaders who have become accustomed to privileges they did not deserve. However, things are under way.

### New Uzbek Presidium Chairman Interviewed

*PM2003140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[Interview 'specially for IZVESTIYA' with M.I. Ibragimov, newly elected chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, by TASS correspondent S. Fenyutin under the rubric "Names and Events": "Reviving the Land"—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet has elected Mirzaolim Ibragimovich Ibragimov chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

He was born in 1928 in Namangan Oblast's Zarkent settlement. After graduating from the Fergana Teacher Training Institute and the Tashkent National Economy Institute, he worked as a high school teacher and was elected first secretary of Yangikurganskiy Raykom, Namanganskiy Obkom, and the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee. Since 1963 he has worked in party and soviet organs. He held the post of chairman of the Fergana Oblispolkom and first secretary of the Namangan Party Obkom. From 1976 onward he worked as chairman of the Uzbek State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport. His last post was Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers permanent representative at the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Fenyutin] In Uzbekistan everyone knows that you were dispatched to the republic State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport from the post of party obkom first secretary. How did this happen?

[Ibragimov] Under Rashidov, stranger things than that happened. I will be brief. At Rashidov's regal command intensive development of land began in central Fergana. Farms were given resounding names like "New Life" and "New Way." Yet all the "innovations" boiled down to the construction of pitiful adobe settlements and duty-tour teams working in the fields. In a memorandum to the Central Committee I stated my opinion, namely that such "development" should be stopped. Rashidov was infuriated by my objections to the illegal allocation to his henchman Adylov of 15,000 hectares of land, carved out of 3 oblasts, for the purpose of creating an "agricultural miracle." I was accused of "cadre-bashing" when a number of kolkhoz chairmen were sacked for overreporting. As a result, without preliminary discussion in the Central Committee Bureau, I was removed from party work. Nor was I summoned to the meeting at which I was confirmed in the post of chairman of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport.

Which is not to say that I was left alone—one of the novels [Rashidov published several] includes a reactionary character opposed to opening up the virgin lands, an obkom first secretary named Ibragimov. As you can see, even my name was retained as a warning to those who might dare to oppose the khan with a party card.

[Fenyutin] Are you still opposed to opening up new land?

[Ibragimov] Believe me, I am. As a result of Rashidov's legacy, some 700,000 hectares of arable land have been ruined. Order has to be established on this land; scientifically substantiated crop rotation has to be introduced. Only in this way can we resolve Uzbekistan's problem and put an end to the predominance of a single crop. A whole range of questions is outlined in the draft plan for the development of the republic in the 13th 5-Year Plan, which I helped to compile.

[Fenyutin] Could you give us more details?

[Ibragimov] The restoration of old arable land and the introduction of crop rotation will make it possible to sharply increase production of fruit, vegetables, and grapes. Uzbekistan occupies one of the last places among the country's union republics as regards the consumption of vitamin-rich foods.

The main attention is focused on creating sectors of industry new to Uzbekistan—machine building, radio equipment, and electronics.

Existing enterprises require serious retooling.

[Fenyutin] You have been nominated as candidate USSR people's deputy for the Muynakskiy national territorial electoral okrug in the Karakalpak ASSR. You will meet with voters in Muynak, the epicenter of the Aral Sea drama. And, of course, they will ask you about the fate of the sea....

[Ibragimov] I was elected at the republic Supreme Soviet session which examined progress in implementing the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Radically Improve the Ecological and Sanitary Situation in the Area of the Aral Sea and To Enhance the Effectiveness of the Use of Water and Land Resources in Its Basin and Step Up Protection of Them." The discussion that took place was pointed but fruitful. Some R35 billion have been allocated for improving the ecological situation. The question is how to assimilate this money. At the moment a republic Supreme Soviet deputy group, headed by V.P. Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, is at work. It is meeting in the most critical spots of the Aral area. Much has already been achieved; even more remains to be done. The deputies have proposed that a nationwide mutual-help effort be organized. There is a good tradition in Uzbekistan whereby everyone gets together to help build a house for the homeless or a canal across the desert. Each oblast in Karakalpakia will build a number of social sphere amenities.

[Fenyutin] In what language will you speak to the voters?

[Ibragimov] That is for them to decide. I speak Russian, Uzbek, Tajik, and Kirghiz, and I understand Karakalpak and other oriental languages. Many people in the republic speak more than their own language. And statements about Uzbekistan's international duty to the country are not mere words. They are embodied in our increasing contribution to the country's national economic complex.

The course set by the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee toward improving the situation in the republic has been greeted by the people as the only correct course. We will not stray from it.

[Fenyutin] Mirzaolim Ibragimovich, one more question, about your family....

[Ibragimov] My mother had 14 children. My eldest sister is over 70 now. I have three sons, two grandsons, and a granddaughter. My eldest son was a worker. He rose to become leader of a mobile mechanized column on irrigation projects. He is now working on land reclamation in Syria. Marat is a polytechnical institute graduate, he worked as a foreman and chief of a technical control department. He has now switched to Komsomol work. The youngest, Bakhodyr, took a job at the "Uzbekkhlopkomash" Association after graduating from Tashkent University. My wife is a teacher. We are all working. Unfortunately, only rarely is it possible to get the whole big family together.

## Campaign Against Corruption in Uzbekistan

*LD2103213989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Krutov, Vremya commentator, speaks about the work of the USSR procuracy, which is aimed at improving the state of society and reinstating law and order.

[Krutov] They have not yet gotten around to unsealing this bag and hence we do not know how much money is in it. The pile of bonds, money, valuable objects, which we saw in the main investigation department of the USSR procuracy has made an impression on us. An investigation group has been working in Uzbekistan for several years. Almost a year ago we talked about and showed the valuables confiscated from bribetakers and plunderers. Here is the latest batch. [video shows a large bag with a red seal, stacks of banknotes, piles of golden jewelry, golden coins; Krutov, two cameramen filming]

[N.V. Ivanov, investigating officer for matters of special importance, identified by caption] At present, R44 million have been confiscated in this case. What you can see here is the regular delivery from Uzbekistan. These are valuables that were confiscated from a whole number of the persons against whom were instituted criminal proceedings. There is a little over R3 million here. Some things we have not yet managed to lay out; they have not been through examination and some things have already gone through. Tomorrow, one part of these valuables will be in the state depository at the USSR Finance Ministry and the second part will be in the state bank.

According to the situation to this day, there are 209 investigators in the investigation group headed by Turim Kharimovich (Dlyan). We instigated criminal proceedings against first secretaries of the Bukhara and Samark and Party Oblast Committee [obkom] Dzhabbarov and (Radzhirapov), and Smirnov, former head of a section of the organizational party work department of the CPSU Central Committee and subsequently second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia. Apart from this, we obtained an agreement and instigated criminal proceedings against Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and Salimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. A number of obkom first secretaries have also been prosecuted. This means that qualitative changes are, of course, on hand. This makes it possible for us to look into the future with more optimism and we can already see some contours and the end of this matter.

[Krutov] That is, you can see the end of the chain?

[Ivanov] We can see the end of the chain. Much has changed and we can see increasingly growing interest by party's leadership in bringing these clans to light and in waging the battle against this phenomenon on a larger scale.

## Earthquake Recorded in Kirghiz Mountains

*LD2203103889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 22 Mar 89*

[Text] Frunze, 22 Mar (TASS)—There was an earthquake in the mountains of Kirghizia at 0440 Moscow time today. Its center was in the axial part of the Fergana range, 160 km to the southwest of the town of Naryn. According to information from the "Frunze" Central seismological station of the Institute of Seismology of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, the force of the earthquake was 6 points on the 12 point scale at its epicenter. The mountains weakened the force of the seismic waves, and for this reason the shock was practically unnoticed in Naryn. In the village of Kazarman it had a force of 3-4, and in the village of Boyetovo 3 points.

According to preliminary data there is no destruction.

## Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Names Ministers

*LD1503182689 Frunze SOVETTIK KYRGYSTAN in Kirghiz 2 Mar 89 p 1*

[Text] The Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet has decreed to appoint Comrade Tumenbayeva, Zhanyl Tumenbayevna as deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the Kirghiz SSR.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet.
A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet.
City of Frunze, 1 Mar 1989.

The Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet has also decreed to appoint Comrade Panasenko, Aleksandr Alekseyevich, first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Construction as minister of the Kirghiz SSR.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet.
A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet.
City of Frunze, 1 March 1989.

### Pay 'Conflict' at Donetsk Mine Resolved

*PM2103153089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2*

[TASS correspondent B. Gertsenov report "specially for IZVESTIYA": "Conflict Ends"]

[Text] Donetsk—A team of miners at the "Lidiyevka" mine of the "Donetskugol" Production Association stopped work. The conflict was resolved thanks to a speedily undertaken investigation.

This complex situation arose on 10 March. The second shift of mineworkers in V. Arabadzhi's team, after receiving their pay slips for February, descended into the mine, but did not begin work. The same thing happened with the team's next three shifts: Picking up their job sheets, they set off for the face, then stayed there, doing nothing.

As the miners explained, the reason was dissatisfaction with their February wages. According to preliminary calculations each worker was expecting to receive approximately R500, but the sum paid averaged R466.

The team refused to talk with the mine director, demanding that the association leadership come. V. Ilyushenko, general director of "Donetskugol," V. Radchenko, the association's economics director, and F. Povetkin, chairman of the Donetsk Coal Industry Workers Trade Union territorial committee, got to the bottom of the main complaint that had prompted the refusal to work, in the course of several hours actually spent in the mine with the entire team, and then with the team leader and one of the unit leaders on the surface.

It became clear that according to the economic accountability conditions to which the team had switched, everyone was underpaid R19 because the collective had not fulfilled targets for reducing the prime cost of coal. The bookkeeper had done this in advance, using only the preliminary figures on the alleged overexpenditure of resources. And yet, if the accounting workers had adopted a responsible approach, the results on the prime cost of output could have been determined by the time the wages were paid, and there would have been no need to hold them back.

In the course of the conversation underground, other money was also "found" that would have "made up" the R500. The workers recalled that on their own decision, they included some fitters in the coal extraction workers' team, and each mine worker "lost" R15 from his wages for their benefit.

In the course of a detailed study the majority of the 11 complaints that arose were shown to be unfounded, and the team leader and unit leader, on behalf of the team, agreed with this. The results of the investigation of the conflict were discussed at a session of the mine's labor collective council.

In all, the first shift to stop work spent 24 hours idle underground, and the last shift—12 hours.

"The main conclusion from the conflict," V. Ilyushenko told TASS' correspondent, "is that enterprise leaders should react promptly to any misunderstanding that arises."

At the same time the director of the "Lidiyevka" mine and the party committee secretary, to whom workers' teams consistently applied on urgent questions, refused to meet with them on the pretext that they had urgent business outside the mine. The person sent to investigate was...a time and motion expert. Unfortunately mention must also be made of the passivity displayed by the trade union committee and labor collective council of the enterprise.

### Charges Against Moldavian Party Official Detailed

*LD2103142189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2*

[Text] Comrades! The issue before those taking part in the plenum is the expulsion from the Central Committee [CC] of the Moldavian Communist Party [MCP] of V.I. Smirnov, the former CC second secretary. As you know, he occupied this post from August 1984 until October 1988; and before that he was head of the Central Asian Republics sector at the CPSU Central Committee.

This 4-year period coincided with the beginning and broad development of restructuring in the country and in our republic. Several most important decisions were adopted by the CPSU CC about the Moldavian party organization. Party committees worked extensively to purge the heritage of stagnation, errors, and mistakes in the selection, assignment, and training of cadres and in matters of morality. Quite understandably, the second secretary was involved in the activity of the MCP CC and its bureau in these and other areas. However, a small number of people mistakenly associated the results of our common work solely with the arrival of V.I. Smirnov in this post. Furthermore, he himself actively encouraged this opinion, making extensive use of the mass media, numerous trips and long speeches for this purpose. However, this activity, which was to a significant degree just for show, only complicated matters for true restructuring.

In his dealings with cadres, Smirnov had an essentially dictatorial style and was frequently unwilling to accept objections and criticism which were addressed to him, while virtually not listening at all to the opinions of workers in departments of the CC apparatus. He often

passed over the opinion of the bureau of the MCP CC, attempted to make decisions on his own, and sometimes failed to give objective information to the CPSU Central Committee. The haste and lack of consideration which he showed in resolving many issues concerning cadres led to a situation in which, for no good reason, there was a high turnover of workers and capable leaders who resigned from their posts. In short, there were mistakes in cadre policy.

The former second secretary of the MCP CC was irritable in dealing with administrative organs concerning the distribution of functional duties, attempted to influence the examination of certain specific matters, and frequently issued immediate and urgent instructions without being qualified to do so. All this served to weaken work in this sphere.

Of course, these and other serious failures in the style of work of the second secretary did not go unnoticed. The party aktiv and the people of the republic are now quite rightly discussing them. It has to be said straight out, honestly, and in a party manner that all of us—and primarily the bureau of the MCP CC—are to blame for them. At the same time it has to be said, for the sake of fairness, that we did repeatedly raise the issue of the mistakes by Smirnov. He often heard comradely rebukes from me and members of the CC bureau. As a rule, however, he took them extremely badly. At the beginning of October last year the question of Smirnov's work as second secretary of the MCP CC was placed before the CPSU CC. At that time, neither the CC bureau nor any of the secretaries knew that last September the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet had adopted a decision in which it was agreed that he should face criminal charges.

The latest MCP CC Plenum, which was held on 5 November 1988, released V.I. Smirnov from his post. Subsequently, after he had gone to Moscow and been struck off the party register in the republic, events took the following turn. He was arrested on 11 January this year. An investigation is under way on a charge that he was involved in the well known "Uzbek" affair.

According to available information, the investigation has no data on criminal activity in Moldavia by Smirnov. Naturally, the people of the republic will be kept informed or the results of the examination of this criminal affair.

The issue of Smirnov's status as a deputy in the supreme soviets of the republic and the country was raised in addresses by CC members at the latest plenum. Another deputy to the republic's supreme soviet for Kiperchenskiy Electoral District in Orgeyevskiy Rayon was chosen to replace him. Now, in the course of preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies, nominations have been put forwsard for Rybnitskiy national-territorial electoral district No 278 in which Smirnov ran in the last elections.

Of course, we must draw the appropriate deep conclusions from the Smirnov case, comrades. The bureau of the MCP CC regards it as extraordinary, and proposes that Smirnov be expelled from the MCP CC for having compromised himself while he worked at the CPSU CC, and also for having caused considerable damage to the republican party organization by the flaws in his style of work and cadre policy.

### Gorbachev, Others Attend Bolshoy Soiree

*LD2103204289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1910 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] A celebratory soiree that has just ended at the Bolshoy Theater in Moscow was dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Modest Petrovich Mussorgskiy.

The soiree was attended by Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Medvedev, and Ryzhkov, as well as outstanding Soviet musicians, composers and cultural and artistic personalities.

The soiree was opened by Khrennikov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Composers. A talk about Mussorgskiy was given by Popov, editor in chief of the magazine MUZYKALNAYA ZHIZN.

### * Ligachev, Others Sign Borin Obituary

*18000647 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 4*

[Obituary of Konstantin Aleksandrovich Borin, signed by Ye. K. Ligachev et al.]

[Text] Konstantin Aleksandrovich Borin, well-known combine operator, pioneer of the rural Stakhanovite movement, docent of the K. A. Timiryazev Moscow Agricultural Academy, CPSU member since 1932 and Hero of Socialist Labor, died on 6 March 1989.

K. A. Borin was born into a peasant family on 3 June 1908 in the village of Shestelevo in Gorkiy oblast. From an early age, he actively participated in the organization and establishment of the kolkhoz system. In 1933 during a Komsomol visit, K. A. Borin was sent to the Kuban, where he worked the grain harvests as a combine operator for twenty years. Owing to the introduction of intensive methods of grain culture threshing, K. A. Borin attained outstanding labor targets. He graduated from the K. A. Timiryazev Moscow Agricultural Academy, and in 1955, he defended his dissertation for the purpose of obtaining his candidate's degree in agricultural sciences. He spent subsequent years teaching at the Academy, putting all his energy and knowledge into training personnel, educating the younger generation.

K. A. Borin fought in the Great Patriotic War. He has been an active participant in social life as a delegate of the Congress of Soviets, a delegate of the party congress, and was elected a deputy of the USSR and RFSFR Supreme Soviet.

The party and government have high regard for the services of K. A. Borin. He was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. He received three orders of Lenin, two orders of the Great Patriotic War, and was granted the title of Laureate of the USSR State Prize.

The bright memory of the well-known harvester-Stakhanovite and Communist Konstantin Aleksandr Borin will be preserved forever in our hearts.

[Signed] Ye. K. Ligachev et al.

**Analysis of Lenin's 'New Economic Policy' Continued**
*PM1703160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Editica p 3*

[Second and last part of series by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Sirotkin "Lessons of the New Economic Policy; Thinking Aloud on the Eve of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"; for part one of the series see the 15 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 101]

[Text] The first step of the new economic policy [NEP] which was proclaimed in March 1921 at the 10th RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Congress was to abolish the decree on wholesale nationalization of small-scale and cottage industries. The new decree of 7 July, on the the other hand, entitled any citizen of Soviet Russia to open a craft or industrial workshop (a motorized shop, if he was working on his own) but not more than one workshop per owner. No permission was required for this; and it was possible to hire up to 10 workers (at motorized shops) and up to 20 workers (at nonmotorized shops).

In March 1923 a selective census carried out by the Central Statistical Administration revealed that there were 165,781 workshops and craft enterprises in the European part of Russia, of which 88 percent belonged to individuals, 3 percent belonged to cooperatives, and 7 percent belonged to the state; the remainder operated under foreign concessions.

At the same time the ban on trade was lifted. And suddenly from nowhere, the markets in the cities were bursting with produce from the countryside, tea rooms, taverns, restaurants, and stores sprang up. Most of the major wholesale deals were concluded by private dealers at commodity exchanges of which there were 54 in the country by 1923, the biggest being in Moscow.

However, a lever was needed for the state to be able to regulate commodity-market relations. It was found in the shape of a hard currency ruble, backed by gold. The biggest financial reform since World War I was carried out in 1922-1924 by Lenin's comrade-in-arms G.Ya. Sokolnikov (recently, IZVESTIYA No 31 carried a profile of him by G. Serebryakova).

Sokolnikov wholeheartedly supported Lenin's NEP program. In the spring of 1922 he contributed a series of articles on financial questions to PRAVDA in which he argued that without hard currency there would be no socialism, economic accountability, or cooperative system because in that case everything would be again reduced to printing money. Lenin actively supported Sokolnikov's ideas and endorsed his appointment first as deputy people's commissar for finance and later as people's commissar for finance. Sokolnikov was only 34 years old at the time.

The new people's commissar energetically threw himself into his work. His reform was based on the idea of two parallel currencies—the old "sovznaks" [paper money in use after 1917] and the hard currency "gold" chervontsy (at an exchange rate of one chervonets to 60,000 "sovznaks"). During the first 2 years both these "parallel currencies" were in circulation. By February 1924 the remaining "sovznaks" were bought up from the population by the USSR State Bank, and in addition to the chervonets, "hard currency" paper "treasury bills" in R5, R3, and R1 denominations, backed by gold, were issued, as well as small change.

People have told me that in 1924 peasants crowded into village soviets just to see the silver grivennik [10-kopeck coin]—the symbol of financial and economic stability of the USSR.

It is true that this was the only occasion in the economic history of the USSR when the "gold chervonets" was worth more than the British Pound Sterling on international currency exchanges and equalled $5 and 14.5 cents.

In itself, the introduction in the country of a hard, convertible unit of currency was only half the story. The second half was provided by state regulatory measures, about which V.I. Lenin wrote to Sokolnikov: "Trade must be stepped up, **taxes must be raised and collected,** the ruble must be rehabilitated." On the basis of these recommendations from Lenin, a ramified system of taxes, loans, and credits organized by banks and savings banks was introduced to ensure that money was not just kept in government safes or people's stockings, but that it was "working."

For peasants there was one direct and several indirect taxes. The main one of the famous Leninist "prodnalog" [tax in kind], (the only agricultural tax), which was exacted at first in grain and money, and as from 1 January 1924 only in chervontsy at the level of up to 5 percent of a farmstead's revenue. The size of the tax was differentiated, taking account of soil fertility, of whether livestock was kept, and so forth. There were certain privileges, which applied to Red Army servicemen's widows, the civil war disabled, and parents of soldiers who had served in the RKKA [Red Army of Workers and Peasants].

A single industrial tax—"promnalog"—was introduced in respect of the urban entrepreneur in small-scale trade or industry; this totaled 1.5 percent of his turnover (in addition to this he also paid a tax into the local budget).

The third main source of funds paid into the budget was the single state income tax. It was divided into two parts—basic tax (paid by all the country's citizens, which exists to this date) and progressive tax. The latter was paid by those who, in addition to normal wages, received additional profit (they included the nepmen [NEP-era traders] and frequently also practicing physicians, lawyers, journalists, and so forth). All these people were obliged to submit a statement of their income twice a year. The size of the progressive tax increased in step with the increase in income over and above a certain minimum (in the case of Leningrad and Moscow the minimum ranged between R1,200 and R1,400 per 6 months).

The state income tax protected the interests of people in the low-pay categories: It was not exacted from day-laborers, unskilled workers, workers and employees with a monthly wage of less than R75, and state pensioners.

There was a ramified network of **indirect taxes** of which there were more than 12, ranging from a tax (excise duty) on tea, salt, and matches to the traditional taxes on tobacco and petroleum products.

Sokolnikov had quite a few opponents who demanded that rather than a "gold" ruble ("it reeks of capitalism") a "commodity" ruble be introduced, whose value could be determined arbitrarily on the basis of the interests of world revolution. This "commodity" ruble was revived by Stalin after 1929 and it is part of our lives even today. At the 11th RKP(b) Congress Sokolnikov resolutely opposed such a ruble and stated prophetically: "If the inscription on the wall next to the Iverskaya chapel (now destroyed, it stood at the entrance to the Red Square—editor's note) reads: "Religion is the opium of the people," I would like to suggest that the following sign be put up next to the All-Union National Economic Council: "Printing money is the opium of the national economy".

Is this not the source of our inflation, which is engendered by the "commodity" ruble whose value is determined by "mean-ceiling" coefficients applied to various goods of various ministries while the State Bank and the State Committee on Prices look on powerlessly?

Grigoriy Yakovlevich could hardly have weathered the onslaught of yesterday's fighters for world revolution and for the abolition of money without Lenin's support. At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the "NEP" Congress, he openly described Sokolnikov's "gold ruble" as the pivot of the entire new post-Marx model of progress toward socialism not just in the USSR, but throughout the world: "If we succeed in stabilizing the ruble for a long time, and subsequently forever, it will mean that we have won."

Sokolnikov's financial reform considerably helped the USSR to breach the economic blockade, enter international markets, and also win diplomatic recognition. The U.S. UPI agency reported that in 1925 chervontsy were valued higher than any other European currency on international stock exchanges. G. Zinovyev complained at the 13th party congress in May 1924: We have amassed 100 millions in foreign currency from foreign trade and are at a loss over what to do with it. "Financial experts are racking their brains over this problem," ultimately "50 millions of foreign curency were allocated for the purchase of industrial raw materials..." Rykov proudly reported to the fifth congress of the Communist International in summer 1924 that after the terrible famine of 1921, Soviet Russia, thanks to the NEP, had not only fed its people but managed to export 180 million puds of grain and to set itself the realistic target of exporting 400-500 million puds annually (without detracting from the food supply).

A most important aspect of the NEP was the economic reform, based on decentralization and broad autonomy of enterprises, which were switched to economic accountability (within the framework of the state budget and stable prices) and to commercial accountability (creation of profit on the basis of contract-market prices).

Sovnarkom decrees of 1923 defined the new structure and statutes of state industrial enterprises (trusts) and the state trade system (syndicates). The trusts and syndicates enjoyed great independence: It was prohibited "to interfere in the day-to-day administrative work of the trusts' management boards." Gigantic associations like "Yugostal" in the Ukraine (100,000 workers and 7,000 employess); "Mossukno" (20 fine wool fabric factories); "Azneft" (the entire Baku petroleum industry); "Donugol", and so forth came into being.

The new system of centralized planning also contributed to the successful functioning of the industrial enterprises. All former people's commissariats and main administrations which managed the national economy were abolished—the trusts and the syndicates were subordinated directly to the All-Union National Economic Council. The former 70 or so people's commissariats and main administrations were replaced by only about a dozen all-union ones.

The market became the main self-regulator of economic activity. Rykov reported to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International that "thanks to the currency reform it has become possible for the first time to seriously apply planning and accounting principles at factories, trusts, and throughout the state's economy."

A key result of the NEP was the restoration of the numerical strength of the working class, and, most importantly, the achievement of labor productivity growth. As early as the end of 1923 it totaled 62.6 percent of prewar (1913) productivity (calculated per worker per year), that is, it had more than doubled in 3 years.

This was promoted by the switch to the piece-rate system of labor remuneration and the payment of wages (as of 1924) in hard rubles rather than in kind. A specific feature of the NEP was the inclusion in workers' and employees' wages of municipal services for their families.

A contemporary of the NEP, our compatriot the U.S. economist W.W. Leontief, who drew up forecasts based on Lenin's model of state regulation of economic development in East and West (for which he received the Nobel Prize in 1973), recently contributed an article to our press in which he defined the main factor of restructuring as follows: "For people to work well, it is of extraordinary importance that they have an incentive. Lenin knew this when he introduced the NEP. It is necessary to bring the market mechanism into play."

One of the serious negative aspects of the NEP was unemployment. It was for the elimination of unemployment (alongside the elimination of the NEP) that Stalin claimed credit after 1929. He forgot to mention, however, that even for his modest unemployment benefit (27 rubles and 56 kopecks per month in the "gold currency") a worker or an employee was able to buy two light overcoats during the NEP period, whereas during full employment in 1930-1935 and for wages that were three times as high, he was unable to buy anything—everything had to be obtained on coupons or through distributors.

The principle, introduced by Lenin, of the division of party leadership (politics) and administrative leadership (the economy and the market) was strictly observed until 1929. The Politburo appointed only the top economic leaders, who were frequently chosen from among nonparty "specialists" such as the agrarian Professor A.V. Chayanov, international economics specialist Professor N.D. Kondratyev, prominent financier Professor L.N. Yurovskiy, and others. Other appointments in the state sector were made by the All-Union National Economic Council and regional and district sovnarkhozes. Local party organs made no economic appointments and were not directly involved in economic management. Party leadership in the economy was implemented via the Communist Party cells at trusts, syndicates, or private enterprises.

One of the problems that is much discussed today is why the NEP, which placed the USSR so successfully on the reliable road of "progress toward socialism," and which was introduced "with serious and long-term intentions" (Lenin), was so short-lived that it did not even last a decade. Many reasons for this have been put forward, including a miscalculation of the date when industrialization should have started (in 1925 rather than 1928—N.I. Bukharin), the growth of private capital and the threat of a Thermidor [counterrevolutionary coup named for month in revolutionary calendar introduced following French Revolution] (the theses of L.D. Trotskiy and his supporters), and the danger posed by the kulaks who were hiding grain and sawed-off shotguns (I.V. Stalin).

It seems, however, that all these reasons, rather than conveying a picture of the actual state of affairs at the time, echo the acute struggle for power that was being waged in the upper echelons of the party, where each of the opposing groups drew from the positive and negative aspects of the NEP arguments of its own for the struggle against its opponents. In practice, the NEP divided the party leadership into doctrinaires and pragmatists. The main struggle in the theoretical sphere unfolded between Trotskiy and Bukharin. The question was: Does the NEP lead to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, or to world revolution? Essentially, this debate reflected a crisis of the old prewar Marxism and a clear lack of understanding of the fundamentally new formulation by Lenin of "our entire view of socialism." In actual fact, while vowing fidelity to Leninism, neither of them had grasped that Lenin, as a dialectician, had managed to go a step further and free himself from the doctrinal schemes of the 19th century, while Trotskiy, and to a lesser degree Bukharin, were unable to do so.

A paradoxical situation developed in the USSR after Lenin's death: Life was taking its course, the NEP was clocking up successes, and meanwhile the party leaders were arguing about ways to advance world revolution. Behind these outwardly scholastic disputes a very serious problem was concealed at the time—would the party intelligentsia, and the party as a whole, be able to spearhead the NEP as a fundamentaly new road toward socialism?

Here is a scene from the session of the 11th RKP(b) Congress, the last congress at which Lenin spoke. He exhorted party members to "learn to trade," to cast off Communist arrogance, to follow the example of "ordinary salesmen." Yet what do we hear in the report of the ranting A. Solts, chairman of the TSKK [Central Control Commission] party ethics commission? "The fact that we have permitted trading does not mean that Communists, too, can trade." And as early as the 4th year of the NEP and 3 months after Ilyich's death, Stalin reported to the 13th congress that a secret division of party work had taken shape in the party apparatus, a division into a "higher category (at guberniya and oblast committee and Central Committee level), and a lower category, described as 'party work' in quotation marks—that it work in all soviet organs, especially trade organs."

The selfsame A. Solts instructed future "party specialists" from the Communist University named for Ya.M. Sverdlov on no account "to take a wife belonging to a

different class." This is to be viewed in the same way as a marriage between a count and a maid would have been viewed in the past, in the old society. Since now "we are the ruling class," it does not behove us to marry "maids"—that is, daughters of nepmen—and "links with a member of the hostile camp... should be publicly condemned..." During the same lecture "On Party Ethics" Solts said: "I think that it is unbecoming if a person wears rings, bracelets or gold teeth, in my view this should evoke esthetic indignation."

Is it surprising then that after such principles of party ethics had been dispensed, Stalin was held up to ridicule by the future "party specialists" when he arrived at the same university and announced that the Central Committee intended to send 10,000 Communists into the trade sphere? The recruitment of "salesmen" fell through.

Lenin foresaw such a development when, in March 1922, he insistently advised Molotov, Stalin, and Zinovyev not to allow the party to become inflated, but to preserve its genuinely proletarian composition consisting of 300,000 to 400,000 industrial workers. Alas! His successors chose a diametrically opposed course: Three "Leninist recruitment campaigns" (1924, 1925, and 1930) and one "October recruitment campaign" (1927), when virtually whole plants and factories were accepted into the party, had quadrupled the figure mentioned by Lenin, increasing party membership to 1,674,910 people by 1930. An eyewitness of this uncontrolled growth, A.Ye. Nozdrin, first chairman of the Ivanovo-Vozensensk Soviet in 1905, wrote that the party is being swamped by "people who are joining the new cause coming straight from the billiard table rather than the machine tool." At the 13th congress Stalin stated dejectedly: "The situation as regards party members' political literacy is poor (60 percent are politically illiterate). The Leninist recruitment campaign is further increasing this percentage." Nonetheless, the recruitment "from the billiard table" of people who judge the new Leninist model of progress toward socialism on the basis of gold teeth and bracelets continued even in the late twenties and resulted in the Leninist guard being drowned in this ocean of politically illiterate people. As early as 1930 it totaled less than 1 percent of party members.

Much is being written today about Stalin's view of the party "as a kind of Order of Knights of the Sword inside the Soviet state." We have indicated the intellectual complexion of some of the "knights" of this order. However, the order also had its material base—the "coupon" system for the distribution of benefits, which did not depend on the economic successes or failures of the NEP. The whole country lived on the basis of the market economy, while the party lived on the basis of "war Communism." Maximum party pay for work in the apparatus was R200, maximum party pay for work in the economy or trade was R360, and that while nonparty "specialists" working alongside were able to earn up to R1,000 and more a month. Party workers were told to pay the surplus wages into the party coffers under threat of being purged from the party as "degenerate." Everything around was bursting with abundance, people were spoiled for choice, while low-level party workers walked past fashionable store windows, clutching their maximum party pay in their pockets (feeling almost like a Soviet tourist feels abroad) and their hatred of the bourgeois, and of the NEP grew in direct proportion to the USSR's economic successes.

G.Ya. Sokolnikov had proposed back in 1924 that the maximum party pay should be abolished, the wages of party apparatus workers raised to the level of skilled "specialists," and the results of party work be tied up with the returns of the economy as a whole. However, Stalin deliberately did not agree to this—embittered uyezd and guberniya committee officials, dying to see the end of the NEP and the beginning of the "second revolution," make excellent "infantry" in the struggle for power. Especially since they hate all those "specialists," the former Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries with their gold teeth, and at the same time cannot abide the "quick-witted" old party intelligentsia either.

As for the upper echelons of the party, NEP or no NEP made no difference to their lives. The supplies—rations, dachas, sanatoria, and so forth—kept flowing as from 1918, since the times of "war Communism," via the administration of affairs of the VKP(b) Central Committee.

A perceptive observation made by Sokolnikov at the 11th party congress, the last attended by Lenin, turned out to be prophetic. He set it out in a letter to Ambassador N.N. Krestinskiy in Berlin: "It seems that the speeches that went most against the current were... Lenin's. But even they seemed somehow to skim over the heads of the audience without getting through to their minds, without making an impact, evoking no interest. ...It is as if everything had turned into one big slow-witted office where everything that is done is done not to promote the cause, but only to kowtow to certain people on whom the supply of further rations, per diems, supplementary payments, and so forth depends."

The further the country advanced along the path of the NEP, the greater became the professional and cultural gulf between the actual leaders of the country's economy—the "specialists," and its political vanguard—the party.

In vain Bukharin tried to save the NEP by means of combining the incompatible: At the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in the summer of 1928 he included in the "Program of World Revolution" both the NEP as the "universal road toward socialism" and the thesis of the exacerbation of the class struggle as the method of accelerating world revolution. The delegates to the Sixth Congress were still on their way to Moscow when the first rigged trial of "specialists-saboteurs"—the

so-called "Shakhty Trial" opened in the Hall of Columns, and the defendants (including foreign engineers) were meekly confessing their part in using the NEP as a screen for sabotage and links with Western intelligence services.

In 1929 the mass arrests of "specialists" began, to be followed by another trial—the "Industrial Party Trial." At this trial the creation of a mass antibolshevik "party of specialists" was already "pinned on" the technical leaders of the NEP. The entire "Industrial Party" trial was recorded on movie tape complete with a soundtrack (which was quite a rarity in 1930) and released throughout the country. It is not surprising that after the showing of such a movie an unbridled campaign in search of "saboteurs" and "wreckers"—a category which included all former prerevolution "specialists," Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries— swept the country. Essentially it was a question of stirring up workers, many of whom were peasants only yesterday, against engineers and technicians.

Today, from the vantage point of historical hindsight, it is possible to say that the Leninist "radical transformation of our whole view of socialism" went far beyond the confines of Soviet Russia alone. Essentially it was a model for restructuring the entire system of economic and social relations in the world, that is the selfsame world revolution, only by peaceful means, by means of a synthesis of the positive aspects of socialism and capitalism and by economic competition between the two systems.

Returning to the historical lessons of the NEP, it must be emphasized that in the twenties both systems—socialism and capitalism—started moving toward the same goal from different directions. Both of them, after World War I and the October Revolution, set about creating what was to be described later as a "mixed economy." However, the West proceeded along this path, while in our country this path was forcibly barred. It is not fortuitous that certain clever Western opponents of restructuring are urging: "Let us not give Lenin back to Gorbachev!"

A mechanical copying of the NEP today is utopia, of course. In history, the same circumstances cannot be reproduced. However, reverting to the Leninist methodology of progress toward socialism on the basis of market relations and diversity [mnogoukladnost] is possible and necessary.

## * Medvedev Comments Further on 1930's Repressions

*18300458 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 11, 18-24 Mar 89 p 8*

[Reply by R. Medvedev to correspondent's question; the previous Medvedev article referred to was published in the 14 Feb Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 41-42]

[Text] After the publication of the material "Tragic Statistics" (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 5), and R. Medvedev's appearance on television on 5 March of this year, quite a few letters arrived at the editorial offices whose authors ask that certain statements be clarified. We present R. Medvedev's answer to a question from our correspondent.

[Question] Roy Aleksandrovich, you are a candidate for deputy of the Voroshilov electoral okrug in the city of Moscow. On Sunday, 5 March, during a television debate on the "Good Evening, Moscow!" program, in answer to the question "Do you believe that the Communist Party as a whole is also responsible for the mass terrors of the 1930's?" you said that you believe that not only was Stalin responsible for this terror, but those around him as well, the leadership of the party, but not the party as a whole. You added that the party itself became a victim of this terror. However, on the very same program on the following day in television debates of candidates for deputy from the Gagarin electoral okrug, G. K. Ashin, professor of the philosophy department of MGIMO [Moscow State University of International Relations] answered to the same question that the entire party also is responsible for the repression of the 1930's, and A. Ye. Beylinson, a physician, agreeing with Ashin, even made reference to your books about Stalinism. Could you clarify your position in more detail?

[Medvedev] I do not know in what works of mine A. Ye. Beylinson was able to read an assertion about the responsibility of the entire party as a whole. In the book "K sudu istorii" ["In the Court of History"] there is a special section on the role of the party in the repressions of the 1930's. I write there that the party itself became a victim of those mass repressions, that 80 percent of the members of the party with pre-October party membership were arrested, that 75 percent of the members of the Central Committee who were elected at the 17th party congress were physically annihilated, as well as 60 percent of the delegates of this same party congress. All told in the 1930's, about 1.2 million party members were arrested. This is more than one-third of the membership of the party at the beginning of 1937.

But it should also be taken into account that in the years 1935-1936, many hundreds of thousands of party members were expelled from its ranks and also later arrested. So that, if we have in mind the membership of the VKP(b) [Communist Party (Bolshevik)] at the beginning of 1934, it is not difficult to calculate that about 50 percent of the Bolsheviks were repressed and that an overwhelming part of them was immediately shot or died in camps at the end of the 1930's and in the 1940's.

Moreover, the party was placed under the control of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. Punitive organs received the right to arrest not only rank and file Communists, but members of the Central Committee also, and even members of the Central Committee Politburo and the secretariat without any sanctions by the Central Committee. This was an usurpation of authority by Stalin and his apprentices, and the real authority in the country belonged to a small group of persons who were supported principally by the punitive organs. It was not until the years 1953-1954, after the

arrest of Beriya and those around him, that the control of these organs over the party was eliminated and that the former extraordinary power of the MVD-MGB [Ministry of Internal Affairs-Ministry of State Security] was abolished. I do not know in which of my works something else can be read into them.

Summarizing my analysis, I wrote: "Our party was ready to meet any danger face to face. But it was defenseless against a strike in the back. Our party was prepared to struggle with any enemies but it turned out for a while to be defenseless against strikes delivered by the hands of its own leaders."

Repression and terror have specific guilty parties, and it would be wrong to speak about the blame of the whole party or even about all of the people, as has become fashionable in certain circles. Lenin was a realist, and he wrote for Central Committee members in March 1922: If we are not to close our eyes to reality, then we must acknowledge that at the present time the party's proletarian policy is determined not by its membership (there is no doubt that a majority of the membership of our party is insufficiently proletarian....), but by a huge indivisible authority of that thin layer which can be called the old party guard. All it takes is a small internal struggle in this layer and its authority will be, if not undermined, then in any case weakened to the extent that a decision will not depend on it.

But Stalin, as is generally known—just as, by the way, Trotskiy and Zinovyev—initiated a struggle for power in the 1920's and actually undermined the authority of the old party guard so much that at the end of the 1930's Stalin and his apprentices were able simply physically to destroy a great part of the old party guard. As for the remaining part—the younger members of the party—a majority of these people were deceived and partially terrorized. I do not believe that I have the right to accuse this deceived part of the party; these people did not have the necessary political experience and even enough education. It is for this reason that I said that the responsibility for the crimes of the 1930's should be placed not on the entire party, but on the leadership of that time.

Of course, this does not mean that the party is not to blame for anything at all. The terrible lessons of the past should compel all of our people and the party to work out all the necessary political, judicial and other mechanisms which will not allow any kind of demagogues or leftist adventurers (but also conservative) to come to power and again resolve problems of the country with the help of mass repressions, and who are concerned first and foremost with their own personal ambitions, interests and claims to authority.

## Assassination Attempt on Andropov Denied

*PM2103131589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 2*

[Reply by Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences R.A. Medvedev to reader's question under the rubric "Ask Questions": "Was There an Attempt?"; first two paragraphs are introduction; item carried as part of "Dialogue" feature]

[Text] "There is still talk that an attempt was made on Yu. Andropov's life (Shchelokov's wife allegedly shot at him)...."—D. Andreyev, Angarsk.

"Dialogue" asked Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev, the historian, to answer this question:

There was no attempt. These are legends stemming from the Western emigre press. You have to understand that there, in addition to serious Sovietological literature, there is also falsifying literature, and its authors invent such stories. I myself have read something like this: "Shchelokov's wife hid on a landing with a pistol in her hand...." The Shchelokovs really did live in the same part of the block as the Andropovs. But Yuriy Vladimirovich [Andropov] spent most of his time at his dacha and moreover, he was heavily guarded.

Since people frequently ask about attempts on the lives of our party leaders in general, I will add: Apart from several attempts on the life of V.I. Lenin, there have been no other attempts—on Stalin, Khrushchev, or Chernenko (although there were also rumors of attempts on Khrushchev's life). There was an attempt on Brezhnev's life in 1969, but it was symbolic, rather. A serviceman—an Air Force officer—fired a pistol at a vehicle in which he thought Brezhnev was traveling (although he was in a different car). This officer had fled his unit, taking two pistols with him. He traveled to relatives in Moscow, and on the day our cosmonauts flew in he was watching a television reportage and noticed that Brezhnev's car was second, behind the cosmonauts' car. He donned a militia officer's greatcoat, went to Red Square, melted into the crowd, and, knowing that the car was the second one, stepped out into the roadway and fired at the limousine's windshield.

He knew that the glass and the body were bulletproof (so the attempt was symbolic). But the glass did not hold out, and fragments slightly injured the cosmonauts and badly injured the driver. An expert psychiatric assessment was made of the airman, and he was deemed not answerable for his actions. It was announced that he was being treated. Reports spoke of him as someone who had fired at the cosmonauts....

I will repeat: That was the only attempt.

**Discontinued Broadcast Jamming Service Described**
*PM1703123689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6*

[B. Pipiya report: "Airwaves Free From 'Black Holes'"]

[Text] Moscow—For about 50 years there was a secret department at the USSR Ministry of Communications, which in recent years was known by the staffers, among themselves, as the "Krestyaninova service." Nataliya Yevgenyevna Krestyaninova was for 25 years in charge of radio transmitting devices designed to create artificial interference to foreign radio stations throughout the USSR's territory.

The practice of subversive radio broadcasting by one country to another began as long ago as the twenties. Radio countermeasures began at about the same time. Thus in Paris in 1923 radio transmitters installed on the Eiffel Tower were jamming Berlin radio. Austria tried to jam Nazi Germany's transmissions. In 1934 a station in Klaypeda was active against subversive broadcasts against Lithuania from Koenigsberg.

In 1937 an intergovernmental conference in Geneva, under the auspices of the League of Nations, drew up a convention on the use of radio broadcasting in the interests of peace. The articles of the international treaty confirmed, in particular, the right of every state to ban and immediately stop all broadcasts that might incite the citizens of the territory in question to acts contrary to internal order and security. The convention was adopted by 22 countries. Among those who did not sign were Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Two years later a special service was created in our country to jam the "radio voices." Communications experts were on duty around the clock in every union republic and in kray cities and the majority of oblast cities, jamming foreign broadcasts.

In Moscow, for instance, it worked like this. The so-called control and positioning point was situated on Taganka. Work was done in four shifts. The operator found the voice of Radio Liberty, for instance, on professional receivers, and gave a command by way of a direct link to the radio broadcasting station: "Switch on the first transmitter with antenna number one at a frequency of 5955 kilohertz." Interference appeared on the air.

Depending on current events and the political situation in the world, the center received special instructions on which broadcasts to "kill" and which not to touch.

N. Krestyaninova showed me the now unnecessary documentation of her service. There is a map, "Areas of Operation of Foreign Radio Stations Broadcasting to the USSR." It shows the positions of radio transmitters. For instance, the Voice of America broadcasts to us from the United States, Britain, the FRG, Greece, Morocco, and the Philippines. The BBC from Britain, Cyprus, Oman... Radio Liberty and Free Europe broadcasts in all the languages of the Soviet republics. The Voice of America broadcasts in Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek, and the languages of the peoples of the Baltic region and the Transcaucasus, and the Voice of Israel in Russian and Georgian. In all, 38 radio stations from 28 countries broadcast to the USSR today. Radio Liberty ranks first in terms of the volume of broadcasts. It is on the air for 71 hours in every 24 hours, the Voice of America for 23 hours 45 minutes, Radio Beijing for 15 hours 35 minutes....

And now the service for radio countermeasures to foreign broadcasting has been entirely abolished. But it would be naive to think that with our restructuring and new thinking, the tasks of certain foreign "voices" have changed and they now operate exclusively in the interests of the struggle for peace, freedom, and mutual understanding. As before, alongside honest, objective, and well-intentioned broadcasts, one can encounter lies, falsifications, and distortions on the air. All these methods from the "psychological warfare" arsenal do not, of course, promote trust between countries.

Nonetheless it was decided to abolish the "Krestyaninova service." One feels this decision is fully in accordance with the policy of glasnost and openness pursued by the Soviet leadership. First, the majority of radio listeners are capable of deciding for themselves what is true and what is a lie, what is information and what is the cunning manipulation of "facts." Second, from now on there is no need to spend money on the maintenance and operation of the "jammers."

How will the radio transmitters and equipment thus made available be used?

"Some of the former 'jammers' will, it has been decided, be used to relay radio broadcasts from all the union republics in Moscow," A. Varbanskiy, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Communications Main Administration of Space and Radio Communications, says. "From 14 March the voices of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Baltic republics came on the air on the short-wave frequencies of 31 and 49 meters, from 21 March Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia will join them, and a week later Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics. A list of frequences for the new radio broadcasts will be published in the weekly GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA.

"The question of the use of short-wave communications in the state geophysical system is now being studied in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Geology. This would make it possible to transmit geophysical field data from the sites to the center, for subsequent processing and decisionmaking.

"Proposals have already come in on organizing a radio advertising channel on the activity of cooperatives, a medical information service, youth broadcasting, a program specially for drivers.... In short, the former 'jammers' will not remain idle."

**Schools Receive Restructuring Guidelines**
*LD2003203289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (TASS)—Correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya writes:

Soviet schools have at least received a package of long awaited documents on the restructuring of their activities. They were endorsed by a collective expert—the All-Union Council of People's Education. The first session of this supreme public organ for the management of popular education, elected in December by the congress of workers in the country's education system, lasted 3 days. Participating were 100 authoritative teachers, school directors, lecturers from institutes and vocational- technical schools, kindergarten staff, cultural figures, but not a single functionary from the State Committee for People's Education.

The council examined the statute on secondary schools, the concept for uninterrupted education, statutes, of the establishment of higher educational, town and rayon public councils for people's education, and on the council itself. They took into consideration numerous remarks on these problems expressed by delegates to the congress.

Now is a time of great change for the Soviet system of people's education. One witness to restructuring, for example, would be the new status of the secondary school, according to which it gains independence in organizing the educational process. This concerns a variety in types of school, in the content, methods, and forms of organization of training and education, and the differentiation of education. The essence of it is that every child should have the maximum opportunities to develop his abilities and inclinations.

One of the signs of restructuring is the coming together of state and public initiatives in the education sphere. This is what the council is supposed to engage in, says Chairman Vladimir Karakovskiy, director of a Moscow school. The council will work jointly with, and not "under the wing" of the committee of education, he stresses, and will be able to put forward legislative proposals in the sphere of legal regulation of educational development. The formation of it is evidence of the development of democracy and glasnost in the country and of the involvement of the public in tackling topical problems.

*** AIDS Discrimination in Elista Cited**
*18300427 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 2*

[Article by Vladislav Yankulin: "Emotions and Facts in Elista"]

[Text] The editorial office received a letter from the collective of the Republic Children's Hospital of the Kalmyk ASSR Ministry of Public Health (with more than 200 signatures), a letter that was filled with emotions and facts. Let us recall that because of the negligence of medical personnel (according to the version of the commission of the RSFSR Ministry of Public Health) 32 children and six adults were infected with the AIDS virus. In the letter from Elista doubt was cast on this version, but that is the subject of another discussion.

At the bureau of the Kalmyk CPSU Obkom the former republic deputy minister of public health L. Kumeyeva, and the former head physician of the Republic Children's Hospital, V. Manzhiva, were expelled from the party. Several other public health officials and officials of the Council of Ministers were given severe party reprimands and were relieved of their duties.

Alas, the "fire" in Elista cannot be put out with reprimands alone. This will require a great deal of money and well-thought-out actions. We must get used to the idea that in our age what may seem to be an insignificant mistake—using a syringe twice—can lead to the most tragic consequences.

There is one other aspect of the problem—discrimination against AIDS patients. I shall quote some lines from the aforementioned letter: "At the present time there is discrimination against the Kalmyk population outside the republic—on the borders of Volgograd and Astrakhan oblast they throw rocks at cars with Kalmyk license plates, they are kicking students out of dormitories, and refusing to give us places in hospitals in Volgograd, Stavropol, and Astrakhan." These facts have not been confirmed, but such things are undoubtedly going on. The most unpleasant of them is the refusal of the Bykovo airport administration to accept carefully packaged (in triple containers!) blood samples of AIDS patients and people suspected of having AIDS to be delivered for testing in Moscow. The life of these people while waiting for these results is hell, but the blood is returned to Kalmykiya.

At a meeting of the Elista city soviet they were discussing the statement from the mother of an infected child who lives in a nearby village. She was asking for housing in the city since the unfortunate person is being tormented by her neighbors.

A diabetic military serviceman when traveling through Pyatigorsk went to the medical point for a shot of insulin. They refused him when they found out he was from Elista.

A 10-year-old girl was sent to a Rostov clinic for in-depth investigation of a disease in no way related to AIDS. After a lot of red tape she was also refused.

People leaving Elista for recreation, therapy, or on business trips consider it necessary to take the so-called "BO form"—certificate of a negative reaction to the AIDS test. According to date from the city polyclinic, from 3 through 27 February 365 of these certificates were issued. They are also given out by a special immunological laboratory.

The story in Elista requires still more investigation and additional research. One thing is clear: Forgetting simple truths leads not only to complicated decisions but also to unrectifiable misfortunes.

### * Nature Preservation Committee Meets 10 Mar

*18240086 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 4*

[Unattributed article: "Protection of Nature: A Choice of Goals"]

[Text] The draft of the Long-Term State Program for Environmental Protection and Efficient Utilization of Natural Resources of the USSR for the 13th Five-Year Plan was considered at the first meeting of the USSR State Committee for Protection of Nature. It took place on 10 March in Moscow.

The draft of the program, which was submitted by the chairman of the USSR Goskompriroda F. T. Morgun, is directed toward radical improvement of the utilization of nature in the country and restructuring of the activity of the ministries and departments in this area on the basis of new economic methods of management, extensive introduction of scientific and technical achievements, and activization of the influence of environmental protection legislation.

The result of the implementation of the program should be stage-by-stage improvement of the quality of the environment and scientifically substantiated indicators of the completeness of the utilization of natural resources. But, in the opinion of Academician I. V. Petryanov-Sokolov who spoke in the discussions, the program does not devote enough attention to this last aspect.

At the meeting attention was devoted to the inadequate financing of measures for the protection of nature. The USSR allots only 10 billion rubles a year for this while the United States allots 80 billion dollars.

Investments in ecological research amount to 50 million rubles while 1.5 billion are needed, emphasized the vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. P. Laverov. Among the negative factors he also named the ecological illiteracy of many managers. This idea was supported by the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education G. A. Yagodin. He spoke of the need to raise the overall level of knowledge about the protection of nature and the general cultural level.

The statements that have been mentioned do not reflect the entire spectrum of judgments about the draft, but they give an idea of its most disputed aspects. It was suggested that after it is improved taking into account all the remarks of participants in the meeting the draft of the program be presented for nationwide discussion.

The first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers V. S. Murakhovskiy participated in the meeting.

### * Accurate Maps Reveal Former 'Secrets'

*18300451 Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 5, Mar 89 pp 11-12*

[Article by G. Alimov: "With Maps on the Table"]

[Text] The ball started rolling: It appears that the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography of the Council of Ministers of the USSR has begun to release secrets divulging what it considered inconceivable as recently as a year ago. Highly accurate maps were not available. Extremely simplified and emasculated versions of many of them were produced for public consumption. In the age of space and satellites, this looked at the very least funny.

However, the practice of making accurate maps secret and consciously distorting maps available to the general public—dating back to the late thirties—was continued. Some points were not shown at all, others were indicated at a misplaced location. Rivers and highways were "moved." Even the most experienced tourists easily lost their bearings in the field when using such guides. Not all the streets were indicated on city maps. For example, only 50 percent of streets are indicated on the existing map of Moscow available to the general public.

As the chief of the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography V. Yashchenko admits, such "work" was no less labor-intensive than making accurate maps. At times, in order to simplify them, a map of a 1:250,000,000 (25 kilometers to 1 centimeter) scale was taken as a base, enlarged and printed. However, changes had to be made even on such maps. All of this ran counter to common sense and claimed a lot of resources and personnel.

V. Yashchenko said: "Beginning last year, we have finally begun to get rid of the chronic complexes of spy mania and to get freed from the heavy burden which we had to carry since the Higher Directorate of Cartography came at one point to report to the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. This is where it all began...."

However, times are changing. Fifty years were needed in order for this truth to become apparent: Why conceal from ourselves something that is no secret for others? So, work on declassification began. It appears that the world has not been profoundly surprised. We ourselves were. Enterprises of the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography have embarked with dispatch on publishing highly accurate maps for sale to the general public. Maps of 1:1,000,000 (10 kilometers to one centimeter) and 1:500,000 (5 kilometers to 1 centimeter) scales have been declassified. The time has also come for a map of 1:200,000 scale (2 kilometers to 1 centimeter). It has already served as a base for compiling the Atlas of Highways of the USSR, various maps for tourists, and so forth. All terrain features, including the tiniest, such as springs or footpaths, will be shown with no removals.

In March or April, a map of Moscow will be released. As V. Yashchenko says, all streets and lanes of the capital city have never been shown on a map available to the general public so diligently. Similar detailed maps of densely populated areas of our country, oblasts, and regions are close to completion. This great endeavor will most likely be completed as soon as the next year.

"Broad circles of the public have never seen such maps before. Believe me, they can rely on them completely," noted V. Yashchenko.

It is possible that as recently as several years ago they would not have released this fact: Work on compiling a highly accurate topographical map of the entire territory on the 1:25,000 scale (250 meters to 1 centimeter) has been completed in the Soviet Union. Thus far, the U.S., Canada, and other countries with large territories do not have such maps. This is an impressive achievement of Soviet cartographers. It aroused tremendous interest. A certificate from the UN on the completion of such a survey in our country has been requested.

V. Yashchenko explained: "We needed half a century in order to make a map of this kind. An enormous amount of work has been done. The map consists of 127,000 sheets. As of now, we may say that it is the most accurate map of our country. At one point, in the late thirties, projections were made to the effect that no fewer than 150 years will be needed to compile such a map for the European part of the country alone. However, technologies change. In recent decades, satellite photography helped us greatly. "

In the field of satellite photography, the USSR is far ahead of all leading capitalist countries. V. Yashchenko said with pride that at present we have the best satellite pictures in the world in terms of resolution—5 meters, and from the height of 270-300 kilometers at that! The Americans have a resolution of 30 meters, the Frenchmen—10 meters.

At present, everybody is interested in receiving high-quality photographs. At the end of last year, a contract was signed with Mr. Lazerson, whom they call "the grain king" in America. He ordered satellite photographs of the U.S. territory from the Soviet partner. Similar orders were received from Brazil and Australia. There are many countries among our customers, including Japan and China.

"We do not sell merely 'raw materials' but rather finished products—satellite maps. This is profitable for all concerned," said V. Yashchenko.

The "Soyuzkarta" Foreign Trade Association of the Main Administration of Cartography and Geodesy (it is the one to engage in this business) entered the foreign market with these products as a meteor. No special advertising campaign was required. As one foreign publication noted, the USSR sells the clearest satellite photographs.

Other products began to enjoy great popularity as well, such as the World Atlas and the geographical atlas for children "World and Man." It has already been translated into many languages. Recently, Taiwan ordered the delivery of the atlas for children worth $2 million.

The fact that they make no secret of their plans at the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography shows the degree of increasing openness in its work. A large amount of work on creating digital maps has been initiated. All information must be coded and recorded on magnetic tapes. The data needed on a particular area may be retrieved by pushing a button. Such maps are particularly useful for ambulance crews, pilots, railroad workers, firefighters, militiamen. Incidentally, such a map for Moscow, called "Patrol," is already being prepared in cooperation with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Still, as they explained to me, digital maps will give way to electronic maps as time goes by. This is a dream so far, but not a very remote one. The Japanese are planning to equip their passenger cars with this novelty by the year 2000. This is expected to be an early warning system for the driver advising him, say, of forthcoming intersections, crossings, and turns. V. Yashchenko said that creating electronic maps is a very promising task for us. These technologies should be developed more vigorously.

However, this is a matter for the future. Meanwhile, at the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography work is under way to restore the undistorted image of our country on maps which will restore to every footpath and creek their genuine places given to them by nature and the people....

*** Flight Personnel Association Formed**
*18290132 Moscow VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by V. Yevgenenko: "USSR Civil Aviation Flight Personnel Association Formed]

[Text] This was the summary of the work of the all-union conference of representatives of the labor collectives,

war veterans and the labor of the flight personnel, which took place in Moscow 25-26 February. Approximately 500 delegates represented 330 subdivisions of 30 administrations of civil aviation. The voluntary amateur social organization (founders: the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Aviation Workers' Trade Union Central Committee) unites active and former specialists in the area of flying.

Thus, where can one register as an active member of the forum? We can frankly say that much has been done.

The association's provisional charter was confirmed—the basis for the ideological and organizational formation of the primary departments. The association's leadership and presidium were elected. Each delegate was empowered to organize meetings for those desiring to join the association, and to collect initiation dues (at a rate of not less than five percent of the average monthly salary. The newspaper will provide additional information on the number of accounts). The document confirming the empowerment of the organizers of the lower cells remains, by conference resolution, the delegate's mandate, giving him the power of the deciding vote.

A number of other points were included in the conference's resolutions. Among them was an appeal to the minister of civil aviation requesting first that the allocation of space for the association's presidium be accelerated, and secondly, that anyone in possession of a document testifying to his membership in the association be given access to the the ministry's knowledge. Furthermore, the petitioning of appropriate state organs for the deferral of the call to military duty for those in training at civil aviation academies. By October 1989, the association's presidium must work out its charter and organizational structure which, until the convocation of the regular conference, will have two levels, the first of which is the center. It was decided to publish in the near future the association's charter, as worked out at the conference, for the purpose of discussing and improving it.

With the creation of the new organization, the movement of the flight personnel for consistent democratization of public life and production relations in the branch must rise to a higher qualitative level—the overwhelming majority of the conference's participants see this as the primary task of the association's existence. Strict observance of its charter and close interactions on an equal footing across the spectrum of branch problems with the founders—this, in the opinion of the conference, is the pledge of the irreversibility of the contemplated changes.

On the whole, the conference, of course, was raised to a new level of maturity. But against a backdrop of constructive resolutions in the spirit of a crossover to practical matters, we cannot fail to note several extremely annoying costs. And not only those things which could be considered tail ends of emotionalism and rallies, basically the phase of the formation which has been overcome. For example, the speakers' innumerable repetitions of "well, we're not here to listen to each other, but to get things done!", or the motion to vote on an issue: to listen to the programs of the presidential candidates or not (!?). The maturity level of the audience, the ability to hold discussion—none of this comes overnight. Yet somehow a very extreme manifestation of feelings sloshed about the hall. Certainly this will not become a sad regulation for the unanimous, with whom it is hardest of all to agree?

In the final account, of course, all of these obstacles were overcome, yet how much energy and time had to be wasted, with no use to the general cause. It is to be hoped that the "outbursts of frankness" in such discussions in the future will not be so damaging to the character of ethical norms of comradeship and professional respect of one another. Yet even the members of the initiative group experienced in innumerable scrapes were often lost in an atmosphere of caustic intolerance of other opinions and extremities in setting out claims and demands.

...And ahead lies a test of the maturity of the basic strength upon whose shoulders sits (just as before) the organizational work for the formation of the association: after all, the conference leadership commissioned this same initiative group, which for the past year has come through a long road from being "informal" to being the officially recognized leaders of the branch of flight personnel.

Alfred Avgustovich Malinovskiy, member of the Aviation Workers' Trade Union's Central Committee, IL-62 pilot first class of the Domodedov production association, was elected the association's president;

Anatoliy Alekseyevich Kochur and Viktor Pavlovich Makatsyubo, commanders of IL-62 TsUMVS and DPO [expansions unknown], were elected vice-presidents;

Sergey Fedorovich Bragantsov, Yuriy Yevgenyevich Leonov, Boris Pavlovich Medvedenko and Albert Kirillovich Chumachov were elected members of the presidium.

Vladimir Terentyevich Gerasimov was elected chairman of the revision and control commission.

P.S. Incidentally, during the course of the conference, one of the delegates, KVS [expansion unknown] Tu-154 of the Armenian UGA [expansion unknown] Koba Mikhaylovich Markosyan submitted his application for acceptance into the association (along with his 55 ruble initiation dues).

## Economic

### Draft on Republic Economic Autonomy Outlined

*LD2103180289 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Prokhorov:

The Soviet public met with interest the draft document outlining the general principles of restructuring the management of the economy and social sphere in union republics. The draft, which was published last week for nationwide discussion, envisages extending their economic independence and proposes a fundamentally new financial mechanism to ensure this autonomy.

Real power needs solid material underpinnings. Therefore the draft provides for radically reorganizing the system of revenues and expenditures which form the budgets of Soviet republics.

First of all, the document stipulates that republics can retain nearly all revenue from enterprises under their jurisdiction (with the exception of 5 to 10 per cent of the deductions into the union budget). According to the draft they will comprise half to three fourths of the revenue of the entire industry. Deductions into the republics' budgets from enterprises, under the jurisdiction of central ministries, will also increase and reach up to 40 per cent of the revenue. The republics will receive in full all taxes from the population, local taxes and duties, as well as part of the turnover tax.

The central budget will receive payments from the revenues of enterprises, under union jurisdiction, (except for the share which is paid to the republic), 5-10 per cent of payments from the revenue of republican enterprises, rent and turnover tax (without the share of the republic).

Union republics receive the right to set for their enterprises taxes, the amount of deductions, tax-breaks, and to introduce and cancel local taxes and duties.

The republics become effectively in control of their own budgets, both revenues and expenditures. They will themselves finance their economic and social programmes, determine expenditures on health, education, culture, sport and on the maintenance of republican bodies of government and management.

However, the draft leaves considerable financial levers of economic management within the jurisdiction of central authorities. In particular, the republics will have to carry out a unified price policy.

These financial guarantees are designed to ensure the economic independence of union republics.

## Scientific

### 'Phobos' Probe Moved Into Synchronous Orbit

*LD2203043489 Moscow TASS in English 2345 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Upon the completion of the next stage in scientific research and specifying the parameters of the orbit formed on March 15, the unmanned interplanetary probe Phobos was switched to the first synchronous orbit which ensures up to 200 kilometres of periodic movement with Martian moon Phobos and the same period of revolution around the planet, says a report from the Mission Control Centre.

To execute this manoeuvre, the space orbiter made several turns on command from the on-board computer and, under the programme developed in advance, took the necessary position in space. Small traction engines were fired at 17:46 Moscow time [1446 GMT] on March 21 and the station was propelled into an orbit which is synchronous with Phobos' orbit.

The accuracy of the knowledge of the probe and Phobos' relative position within the ten-kilometre limits has been achieved by now. To ensure the dropping of autonomous landing craft on Phobos' surface, the required accuracy of the knowledge of the relative position should be one to two kilometres. Trajectory measurements and television pictures of Phobos will be made to accomplish this task and also choose the area of landing during the flight along the synchronous orbit.

Once the information processing results are achieved, manoeuvres will be made to transfer the probe to the second synchronous orbit, ensuring its further movement toward Phobos.

### Two Cosmonauts To Replace Colleagues on 'Mir'

*LD2103134889 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Balandin are less than a month away from liftoff to the orbiting station Mir. They are to replace three colleagues currently working there, a ground control spokesman told TASS.

While Balandin is a relative newcomer, Viktorenko has already been aloft, leading an international Soviet-Syrian mission in July 1987.

Of the resident crew on Mir, Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev have been in space for close on four months, with physician Valeriy Polyakov nearing the end of his seventh month in orbit.

They have done a wide range of research, nature studies, technological experiments and medical and biological tests in the interest of various economic sectors.

Volkov and Krikalev replaced Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who set a space endurance record of 365 days 22 hours and 39 minutes late last year.

The crew undergoing preparations will do preventive maintenance work on the station's instruments and equipment and replace some of their components. Everything needed has been delivered to the station by the latest space freighter, the unmanned Progress-41 craft.

Mir, launched more than three years ago, has been manned for over two years.

### Ships Take Supplies to Antarctic Base

*LD2103051489 Moscow International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Mar 89*

[Summary from poor reception] Those taking part in the 34th Soviet Antarctic expedition have set about completing their seasonal scientific and transport sea operations. In the last few days the expedition's flagship, the diesel motor ship "Aleksand Fedorov," has been sailing in the Ross and (Samov) seas, together with MV [shipyard designation]"Professor Zubov." The ice-resistant class MV "Vitus Bering" accompanied the oil transporting vessel through the ice-bound sea to arrive at the Pravda shore, where fuel supplies were left for the Mirniya observatory. The diesel motor vessel "Mikhail Somom" and the MV "Professor Vize" also sailed to the scientific base.

## Military

### Army Denies Censoring Television Broadcasts

*PM2103160789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Ask Questions!": "Military Specialists in TV?"; first paragraph is reader's question]

[Text] "I have heard that a group of military censors is now working at Central Television with the right to ban broadcasts that the Defense Ministry does not approve of. Is this true?—N. Lavut"

"A contract was concluded recently between the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate," V. Baburin, chief of a department of Central Television's Main Propaganda Editorial Office, said. "But it is not a question of censorship. A group of military consultants helps us to organize prompt filming, provides the most complete and objective information on the state of affairs in the Armed Forces, and coordinates our creative plans with the Army command. The group includes professional military journalists. They have no right to ban programs. If a conflict situation arises, the editorial office still has the final, decisive word. True, in that case the group declines all responsibility."

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, economic, military, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available source; it should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed, with personal and place names rendered in accordance with FBIS transliteration style.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

## SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Soviet Union, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735,or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.